"All the News That's Fit to Print"

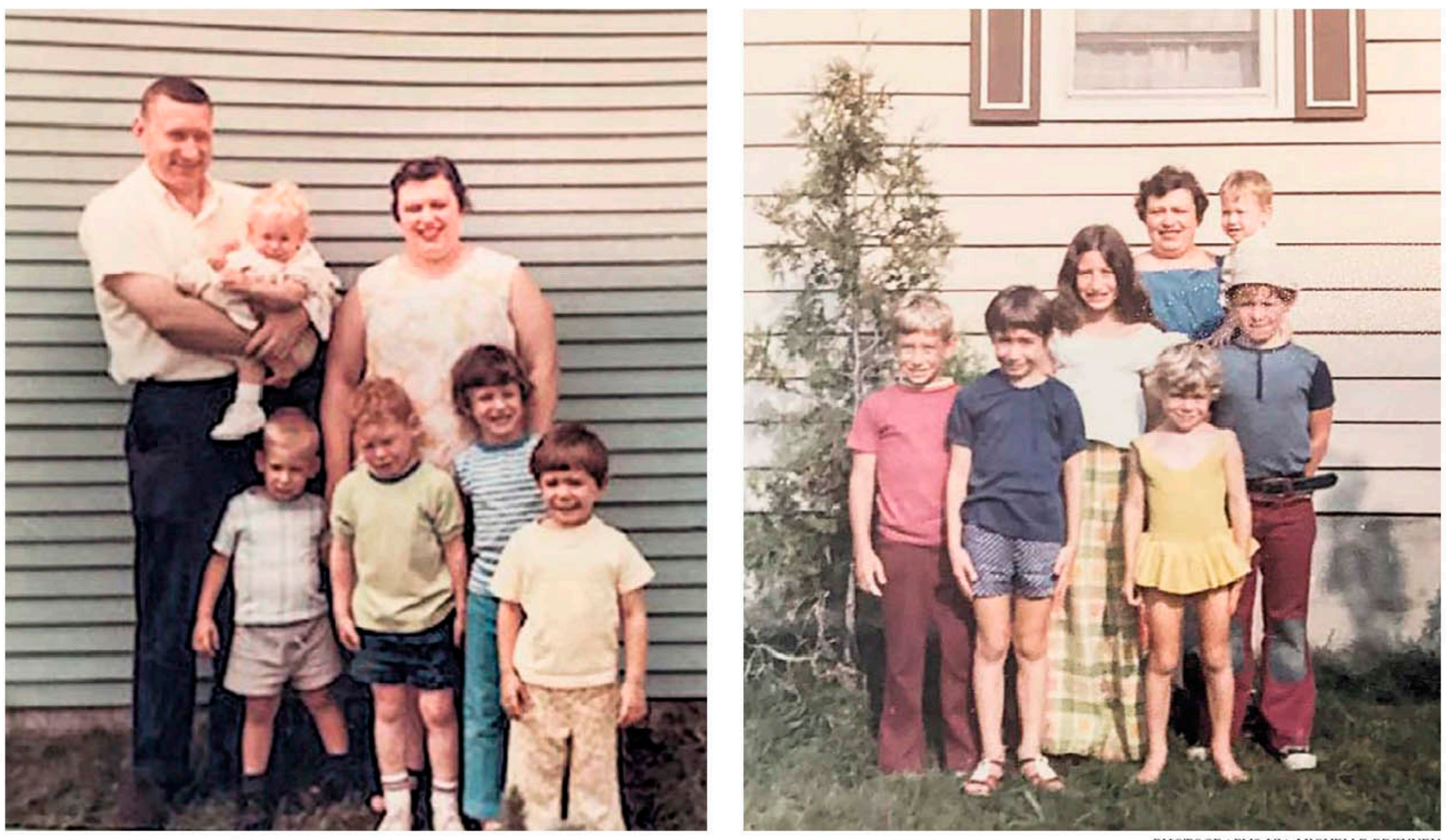
The New York Times

LATE EDITION

Today, showers, thunderstorms, locally heavy rain, high 84. **Tonight,** mostly cloudy, thundershower, low 72. **Tomorrow,** thunderstorms, high 80. Weather map is on Page B6.

VOL. CLXXII . . . No. 59,906 © 2023 The New York Times Company NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 2023 $4.00

A Vermont woman spent years tracking down men and women who lost family members in a 1973 crash in Boston. Their lives, forever altered, would converge at last.



PHOTOGRAPHS VIA MICHELLE BRENNEN

Michael and Patricia Longchamp with their children, left, and another photograph taken about a month after the crash.

Half a Century of Grief: The Orphans of Flight 723

By ELLEN BARRY

At the age of 58, stuck in her house through the long nights of the coronavirus pandemic, Michelle Brennen started to spend more and more of her time thinking about the worst thing that had ever happened to her.

She was 10, on summer vacation. She had been playing in the yard in Essex, Vt., and when she came inside, she found her mother standing in the archway between the kitchen and the living room, crying.

"Daddy's plane crashed," said one of her five siblings — she has never known which one. The information did not register; she thought they meant one of her father's model airplanes. No big deal, she thought. Just glue it back together.

It was 1973, a time when adults didn't talk to children about death. That afternoon, a neighbor took the children to the beach so they wouldn't see news coverage of the crash, among the deadliest in New England's history.

The following week, when their father was buried, they weren't allowed to attend the funeral. When school started, a guidance counselor called her in and asked her how she was doing. Michelle said, "Fine," and that was that.

HILARY SWIFT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Michelle Brennen lost her father in the crash of Flight 723 when she was 10.

Maybe that's why, all these years later, something kept steering Michelle's mind back to the plane crash.

Clearing out her mother's basement after she died in 2021, Michelle found a cardboard box where her mother had stored everything related to the flight, Delta 723 — newspaper clippings, correspondence with lawyers, journal entries.

Once she began reading, Michelle found that she could not stop. She was especially drawn by the dog-eared passenger manifest, 89 names on a battered sheet of paper. How many of them had left children like her behind? Where were those children now? How had their lives turned out?

And so, planting herself in front of an iPad at the dining room table, she tracked them down one by one. She popped up in their DMs. She called their landlines. She invited them to exchange stories on a Facebook page. She hoped she didn't sound like a kook.

In her own way, she was exploring questions that have preoccupied the field of mental health. How does traumatic loss alter the course of a person's life? Does grief subside more fully when left in a box, or when it is shared? Does it subside at all?

These questions hung in the air on a Sunday morning in July, when Michelle, now 60, awaited the arrival of around 200 people, nearly all of them strangers. Over two

Continued on Page A10

Migrant Crisis Divides North, Lifting G.O.P.

Growing Wave Strains Budgets and Nerves

By JONATHAN WEISMAN and NICHOLAS FANDOS

When Gov. Greg Abbott of Texas began sending migrants and asylum seekers from the southwestern frontier to New York, Washington and Chicago, he vowed to bring the border to the Democratic cities he said were naïvely dismissing its costs.

A year later, the migrant waves he helped set in motion have put northern "sanctuary" cities increasingly on edge, their budgets stretched, their communities strained. And a border crisis that has animated Republican politics for years is now dividing the Democratic Party. Humanitarian impulses are crashing into desperate resource constraints and once-loyal Democratic allies have reluctantly joined Republicans to train their fire on President Biden.

Eric Adams, the mayor of the country's largest city, declared this week that without a federal bailout and clampdown at the border, swelling migration "will destroy New York City." The nation's second-largest city, Los Angeles, has promised to sue Mr. Abbott. And the liberal mayor of the third-largest city, Chicago, began pleading last month for the White House to step in.

"Let me state this clearly: The city of Chicago cannot go on welcoming new arrivals safely and capably without significant support and immigration policy changes," Mayor Brandon Johnson said.

Gov. Maura Healey of Massachusetts, a liberal Democrat, has declared a state of emergency, activated the National Guard and started petitioning the White House for help.

The migrants on state-funded buses from Texas are a fraction of the total number arriving in northern cities. Texas brags that its "Operation Lone Star" has sent more than 13,100 migrants to New York City since August 2022, but the overall strain there stems from the total, more than 110,000. Some of those migrants have family in New York, while others are attracted to the city's history of welcoming immigrants.

Still, the rising clamor is creating a rare convergence between

Continued on Page A13

TOP TRUMP ALLIES MADE PANEL'S LIST ADVISING CHARGES

GEORGIA INTERFERENCE

Graham Is One of Many Whom Prosecutors Did Not Indict

By RICHARD FAUSSET and DANNY HAKIM

ATLANTA — A special grand jury that investigated election interference allegations in Georgia last year recommended indicting more than twice as many Trump allies as prosecutors eventually sought to charge, including Senator Lindsey Graham of South Carolina, the former senators David Perdue and Kelly Loeffler of Georgia, and Michael Flynn, a former national security adviser.

In its final report, which a judge unsealed on Friday, the panel also recommended charges against Boris Epshteyn, one of former President Donald J. Trump's main lawyers, as well as a number of other Trump-aligned lawyers, including Cleta Mitchell and L. Lin Wood.

Mr. Trump and 18 allies were charged in a racketeering indictment that was handed up last month by a regular grand jury in Fulton County, Ga. But the special grand jury, whose role was advisory, recommended bringing charges against an even wider web of Trump allies who tried to change the election results.

Officials with the Fulton County District Attorney's office, which is prosecuting the case, declined to comment on Friday. But the report provides a window on the office's exercise of prosecutorial discretion, with prosecutors seemingly concluding that some of the people named in the report had committed acts that would be too difficult to prove were criminal.

The special grand jury, which

Continued on Page A15

VALERIE PLESCH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Senator Lindsey Graham

Vietnam and U.S. Deepen Ties Amid Mutual Unease of China

Biden Will Meet With Hanoi's Leadership Despite Criticism

By SUI-LEE WEE

When President Biden arrives in Vietnam on Sunday, he is set to celebrate a new phase in the Washington-Hanoi relationship that would bring two historical foes closer than they've ever been, drawn together by China's mounting ambitions.

During his state visit to Vietnam, Mr. Biden is expected to oversee the signing of a "comprehensive strategic partnership" with Hanoi, a symbolic but significant status long coveted by the United States. Vietnam has until now reserved this status for only four countries: China, Russia, India and South Korea. For years, it had resisted granting this distinction to the United States out of fear of offending China.

But as Beijing continues to encroach on waters claimed by Vietnam and as the United States looks for more partners to counter China in the Indo-Pacific, the former enemies have found common ground. Some experts believe Hanoi may take the unprecedented move of raising Washington's designation up two notches, from the bottom tier of Vietnam's bilateral ties hierarchy to the highest.

"It is a very remarkable event because we all know that Vietnamese foreign policy is very cautious," said Nguyen Khac Giang, a visiting fellow at the ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute in Singapore. "Whenever they try to upgrade any significant bilateral relations, they normally tend to do it step by step because of the fear that it may cause some concern, especially from Beijing."

Continued on Page A6

To Hunt Wealthiest Tax Evaders, I.R.S. Uses Artificial Intelligence

Jump in Funding Lets Agency Pursue More Complex Schemes

By ALAN RAPPEPORT

WASHINGTON — The Internal Revenue Service has started using artificial intelligence to investigate tax evasion at multibillion-dollar partnerships as it looks for ways to better police hedge funds, private equity groups, real estate investors and large law firms.

The announcement on Friday was intended to show how a more muscular I.R.S. is using some of the $80 billion allocated through last year's Inflation Reduction Act to target the wealthiest Americans and tackle the kinds of cases that had become too complex and cumbersome for the beleaguered agency to handle.

The agency's new funding is supposed to help the I.R.S. raise more federal revenue by cracking down on tax cheats and others who use sophisticated accounting maneuvers to avoid paying what they owe. But the allocation has been politically contentious, with Republicans claiming that the I.R.S. will use the funding to harass small businesses and middle-class taxpayers. Earlier this year, Republicans succeeded in clawing back $20 billion as part of an agreement to raise the nation's borrowing cap.

The political fight has put the onus on Democrats and the Biden administration to show that the funding is primarily enabling the I.R.S. to target wealthy Americans and corporations who may have engaged in tax evasion.

"These are complex cases for I.R.S. teams to unpack," Daniel Werfel, the I.R.S. commissioner,

Continued on Page A17

Deep Run at U.S. Open Comes With an Odd Reward: Solitude

Empty Practice Courts and Locker Rooms as Finals Near

By DAVID WALDSTEIN

It happens every year. Tennis players, by the hundreds, disappear from Flushing Meadows Corona Park.

They arrive with hopes of remaining there at least two weeks, but every two days about half of them vanish until their ranks dwindle to a small, select handful. They walk the eerily quiet back halls, lounges and locker rooms of Arthur Ashe Stadium, tennis' largest venue, nearly alone. The same phenomenon happens in London, Paris and Melbourne, Australia, each year, until eventually there are only two left to share a giant locker room, player restaurant and court.

The Hall of Famer Chris Evert felt that blissful solitude 34 times in Grand Slam singles events, and won 18 of them. The goal is obviously to win their survivor game, but it is still a strange feeling.

"It's lonely and there's pressure knowing it means you're the last two women standing," Evert said, adding, "There are pleasantries and small talk. You don't want them to see you're nervous, but you are."

When each of the four major tournaments begins, the many player areas are teeming with competitors, plus their coaches, agents, trainers, family members and hitting partners. It is difficult to get a table in the player restaurant. Preferred times for a practice court or session with the athletic trainer can be hard to come by. People are bumping into one another, stepping over equipment bags, waiting for someone to

Continued on Page A16

INTERNATIONAL A4-8

Myanmar Filmmaker in Exile

Lynn Lynn was a musical idol when he became a bodyguard for Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. Now he protests from Thailand. The Saturday Profile. PAGE A4

NATIONAL A9-17

Meadows's Case Stays Put

Georgia prosecutors notched a victory when a judge rejected an effort by Donald J. Trump's former chief of staff to be tried in federal court. PAGE A15

BUSINESS B1-5

Major 1st Amendment Ruling

A Fifth Circuit panel partly upheld restrictions on the Biden administration's communications with online platforms about their content. PAGE B4

SPORTS B7-9

A Trailblazer 9 Years Later

Mo'ne Davis, female pitching sensation at the 2014 Little League World Series, has begun graduate school in sports management at Columbia. PAGE B7

OPINION A18-19

Farhad Manjoo PAGE A19

0 354613 9

VISIT…

LANZAROTE Caliente.COM

Inside The Times

The New York Times

A. G. SULZBERGER
Publisher

Founded in 1851

ADOLPH S. OCHS
Publisher 1896-1935

ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER
Publisher 1935-1961

ORVIL E. DRYFOOS
Publisher 1961-1963

ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER
Publisher 1963-1992

ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER JR.
Publisher 1992-2017

NEWS

JOSEPH KAHN
Executive Editor

MARC LACEY
Managing Editor

CAROLYN RYAN
Managing Editor

SAM DOLNICK
Deputy Managing Editor

MONICA DRAKE
Deputy Managing Editor

STEVE DUENES
Deputy Managing Editor

MATTHEW ERICSON
Assistant Managing Editor

HANNAH POFERL
Assistant Managing Editor and Chief Data Officer

SAM SIFTON
Assistant Managing Editor

KARRON SKOG
Assistant Managing Editor

MICHAEL SLACKMAN
Assistant Managing Editor

OPINION

KATHLEEN KINGSBURY
Opinion Editor

PATRICK HEALY
Deputy Opinion Editor

BUSINESS

MEREDITH KOPIT LEVIEN
Chief Executive Officer

DIANE BRAYTON
General Counsel

WILLIAM T. BARDEEN
Chief Financial Officer

JACQUELINE M. WELCH
Chief Human Resources Officer

R. ANTHONY BENTEN
Chief Accounting Officer, Treasurer

ALEXANDRA HARDIMAN
Chief Product Officer

DAVID S. PERPICH
Publisher, The Athletic

JOY ROBINS
Global Chief Advertising Officer

DAVID RUBIN
Chief Brand and Communications Officer of The Times, and Publisher, Wirecutter

JASON SOBEL
Chief Technology Officer

HANNAH YANG
Chief Growth and Customer Officer

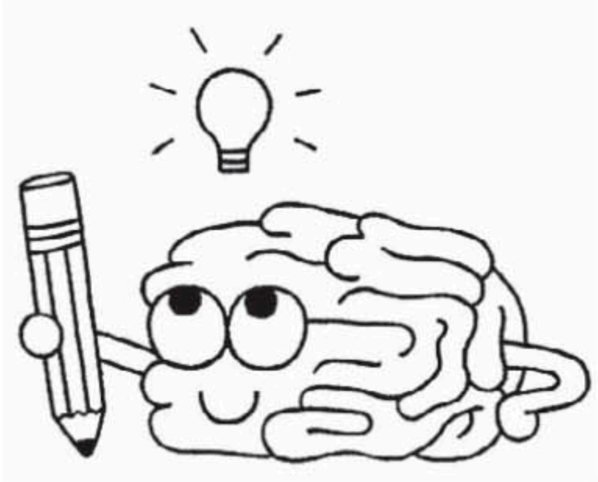
Contact the Newsroom
To contact the newsroom regarding correction requests, please email corrections@nytimes.com.

Submit a Letter to the Editor
letters@nytimes.com

Send a Confidential News Tip
Reach us through tools that will help protect your anonymity at nytimes.com/tips.

Contact Customer Care
customercare@nytimes.com or call 1-800-NYTIMES (1-800-698-4637)

The News Quiz



JORDAN AWAN

Did you follow the headlines this week?
Take our quiz to find out.

1. Enrique Tarrio was sentenced to 22 years in prison for organizing his followers to attack the Capitol on Jan. 6, 2021. What group was he the leader of?

a. Ku Klux Klan
b. Oath Keepers
c. Proud Boys
d. QAnon
e. Vanguard America

2. Ken Paxton is facing charges this week in the Texas State Senate, after being impeached in May over accusations of bribery. What state office does he hold?

a. Agriculture commissioner
b. Attorney general
c. Comptroller
d. Governor
e. Secretary of state

3. Politicians have long warned of rising Medicare spending. A Times analysis this week found that per-patient Medicare spending has ________ since 2010. Fill in the blank.

a. Doubled
b. Dropped to zero
c. Fallen by half
d. Stayed largely flat
e. Quintupled

4. A federal court again struck down a congressional map, which Republicans had redrawn, because it disempowered Black voters in which state?

a. Alabama
b. California
c. Georgia
d. Maine
e. Utah

5. Which American tennis star made it to the final in the U.S. Open for the first time this week?

a. Coco Gauff
b. Frances Tiafoe
c. Madison Keys
d. Naomi Osaka
e. Tommy Paul

YOUYU POLICE, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

6. Two people were accused of driving an excavator through which ancient landmark, pictured above, to create a shortcut?

a. Chichén Itzá
b. Great Wall of China
c. Hadrian's Wall
d. Pyramids of Teotihuacán
e. The walls of Palmyra

7. Steve Harwell, the longtime lead singer of the rock band Smash Mouth, died this week. The band's biggest song, "All Star," had a second life when it was featured in the opening scene of which film?

a. "The Fast and the Furious"
b. "Ocean's Eleven"
c. "The Princess Diaries"
d. "Shrek"
e. "Zoolander"

8. A Russian missile strike killed at least 17 people in Ukraine, and was one of the deadliest attacks in recent months. What did the strike hit?

a. An apartment building
b. A military base
c. An outdoor market
d. A public pool
e. A school

9. The police in Pennsylvania spent the week searching for a convicted murderer who had escaped from prison. What was played from helicopters and patrol cars to encourage his surrender?

a. His favorite childhood song
b. A message from his mother
c. Loud sirens
d. A message from the police chief
e. A message from a fellow inmate

10. A new analysis shows that legal abortions most likely increased in the United States in the first six months of the year compared with 2020. In which states did the increases occur?

a. Only states with bans on all abortions
b. Only states with Democratic majorities
c. Only states with Republican majorities
d. Only states that have expanded abortion access
e. Nearly every state where the procedure remains legal

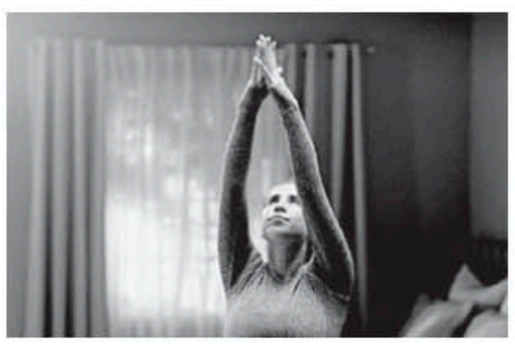
The News Quiz is published on Fridays in the Morning newsletter. To sign up, visit nytimes.com/themorning.

Solutions: 1. C; 2. B; 3. D; 4. A; 5. A; 6. B; 7. D; 8. C; 9. B; 10. E.

The Newspaper and Beyond

TODAY'S PAPER

Corrections	A16	Opinion	A18-19
Crossword	C3	Weather	B6
Obituaries	B10	Classified Ads	B9



TELEVISION The latest installment of the Showtime drama "Billions" offered viewers a big reveal in its closing moments. Read Sean T. Collins's recap of Season 7, Episode 5: "The Gulag Archipelago." *nytimes.com/tv*

INTERACTIVE The Times Magazine's College-Access Index ranks the country's most-selective universities in order of economic diversity. Explore the list of 286 colleges at *nytimes.com/magazine*.

WORKOUT Yoga is a good way to get moving in the morning, and you can do it in as little as five minutes. Wake up and feel energized with Well's expert-recommended yoga routine for beginners. *nytimes.com/well*

Quote of the Day

"The monkeys are naughty and they can arrive at your dinner table, in any house in Delhi."

ABDUL KHAN, *a freelance monkey noise imitator in India, where this weekend's Group of 20 summit is being held. Understandably, the government doesn't want the animals stealing the spotlight during its first time as the event host.* *Page A7.*

Today's Top Trending Headlines

Elon Musk Acknowledges Withholding Satellite Service to Thwart Ukrainian Attack Ukraine has used Starlink, the satellite internet service operated by Elon Musk's rocket company SpaceX, as a digital lifeline throughout the war. But according to Walter Isaacson's upcoming biography "Elon Musk," Mr. Musk deactivated Starlink access near the coast of Crimea last fall to prevent an attack on Russia's naval fleet.

Jobless, Divorced, on Probation; a Pandemic Hobby Turned His Life Around The journalist Liza Weisstuch interviewed Danny Cortes about the artistic career that unfolded after he created a miniature bodega icebox out of poster board from a 99-cent store. Now he's getting called on by hip-hop stars and professional athletes to make more miniature urban fixtures.

D.E.I. Statements Stir Debate on College Campuses Michael Powell investigated what happened when U.C.L.A. students denounced Yoel Inbar, a noted psychology professor who was set to teach at the university, after discovering that he had opposed diversity statements on his podcast years ago. This article drew more than 900 comments from readers.

What $50 Million Can Buy: Inside the Sleek New White House Situation Room After closing for a year for a complete overhaul, the ultrasecure facility has reopened. Michael D. Shear, a White House correspondent who reported from the Situation Room, likened the new space to "the set of a Hollywood thriller."

A Headline From History

RAYMOND ROBINS VANISHES ON HIS WAY TO VISIT HOOVER

September 9, 1932. Raymond Robins, an economist and fierce crusader for stricter enforcement of Prohibition laws, disappeared on his way to visit President Herbert Hoover at the White House and had not been heard from in a week, The Times reported. "Reports that kidnapping might have entered into the case gained credence" after Mr. Robins's wife, Margaret, said he had received threats from bootleggers. The federal government eventually joined the search for Mr. Robins, and on Nov. 19, The Times reported that he had been found in the Appalachian town of Whittier, N.C., living under the name Raymond Rogers. Apparently "suffering from amnesia," he had adopted "rough clothing" and "a heavy beard" and had been "wandering through the mountains searching for precious metals."

THE NEW YORK TIMES COMPANY
620 Eighth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10018-1405

The New York Times (ISSN 0362-4331) is published daily. Periodicals postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to The New York Times, 620 Eighth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10018-1405.

Mail Subscription Rates*	1 Yr.	6 Mos.
Daily and Sunday	$1196.00	$598.00
Monday-Saturday	1092.00	546.00
Sunday only	624.00	312.00
Times Book Review	$286.00	
Large Print Weekly	$166.40	

Higher rates, available on request, for mailing outside the U.S., or for the New York edition outside the Northeast: 1-800-631-2580.

*Not including state or local tax.

The Times occasionally makes its list of home delivery subscribers available to marketing partners or third parties who offer products or services that are likely to interest its readers. If you prefer that we do not share this information, please notify Customer Service, 620 Eighth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10018-1405, or email help@nytimes.com.

All advertising published in The New York Times is subject to the applicable rate card, available from the advertising department. The Times reserves the right not to accept an advertiser's order. Only publication of an advertisement shall constitute final acceptance.

© 2023, The New York Times Company. All rights reserved.

A. G. Sulzberger, *Publisher*
Meredith Kopit Levien, *President and Chief Executive Officer*
R. Anthony Benten, *Treasurer*
Michael A. Brown, *Corporate Secretary*

Facts of Interest

A portrait of Rose Prentice, an African American domestic worker, at the Yale University Art Gallery, is an example of rare miniatures, daguerreotypes, silhouettes and engravings of Black people from the pre-Emancipation era.

She Envisioned the Bigger Picture C1

Tuition at Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs, a graduate school where former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton is teaching a course this semester, is more than $65,000 per year.

A Professor Who Was in the Room Where Foreign Policy Happened A9

Before becoming an award-winning filmmaker, Lynn Lynn of Myanmar was also a rock star, and once served as bodyguard to the country's now-imprisoned civilian leader, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi.

Rock Star, Bodyguard, Myanmar Filmmaker in Exile A4

The term gray swans in business refers to rare but not unimaginable events like another pandemic, more economic sanctions or open cross-border conflict.

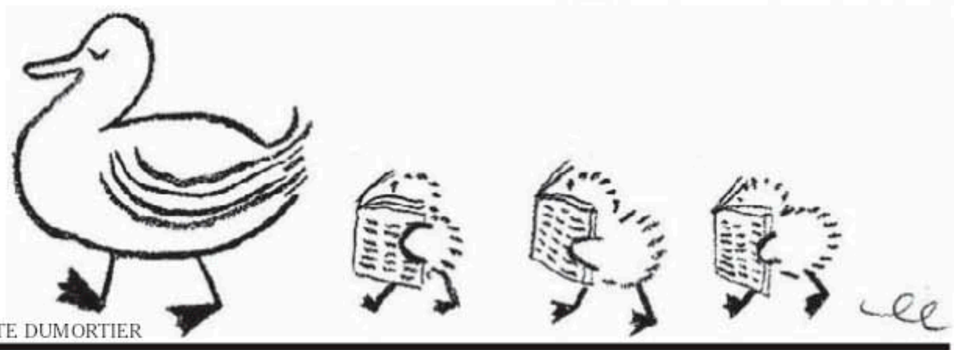
Doing Business in China Is Risky, But So Is Retreating B1

The press room for the Venice Film Festival is located in the Palazzo del Casinò, designed by the architect Eugenio Miozzi in 1938 to embody the monumentalist fantasy of Mussolini's fascist regime.

Trapped Women and Controlling Men At the Center of Stories C3

The Detroit Lions have not won their division in three decades and haven't made the N.F.L. playoffs in six seasons.

As Mahomes Magic Fails, Detroit Manages to Upset the Super Bowl Winners B9



CHARLOTTE DUMORTIER

Might We Suggest . . .

Four Weekend Recommendations From Around the Newsroom

1 Planning Next Spring's Blooms

As summer winds down, it's time to start planning the bulb garden for riots of tulips, Narcissus, daffodils or the delicate squills to mark the end of next winter. You have a little time to peruse the bulb catalogs before it's time to put the bulbs into the ground next month. Margaret Roach, in her column "In the Garden," explains how you can force bulbs for early indoor blooms. *nytimes.com/realestate*

PAGE DICKEY

2 Dusting Off Your Pearls

Pearls are back in fashion. So if you have your grandmother's old ones, or saw good faux ones online, now's the time to wear them. Brides are incorporating them in new ways, and men are sporting them to surprise. Formula 1 driver Lewis Hamilton has a penchant for pearls. *nytimes.com/style*

3 Throwing Down Clay

Many people discovered the art of making pottery during the pandemic, when we were all forced to seek more solitary pursuits. Now pottery wheels have become party fixtures in some social circles. Some hosts are hiring caterers who bring the clay and the wheel to the party. Guests get their pots back after they're baked in a kiln elsewhere. Read more about the trend at *nytimes.com/style.*

4 Rediscovering Vanilla

Vanilla became a byword for blandness, even though it derives from the fragrant and mysterious vanilla bean. The food writer Ligaya Mishan sings the praises of vanilla in T Magazine: "What is this disconnect between the genial vanilla of the mind and its heady, almost unruly scent and flavor?" Seek out foods with real vanilla — a milkshake, an Italian-style ricotta cheesecake — and see why it's a beloved spice. *tmagazine.com*

Second Look

Out of House and Home

PABLO LUEBERT

New York City's short-term rental landscape is on shaky ground. This week, city officials began cracking down on home-sharing platforms like Airbnb and Vrbo, enforcing strict regulations that limit how and when residents can rent out their homes. The city — which has long disputed the legality of renting to guests for less than 30 days, unless the host is present — argues that the thousands of short-term rentals have helped fuel New York City's housing shortage. Meanwhile, critics liken the new rules to a ban that could hurt tourism. The long-term effects of the change remain to be seen, even as listings disappear.

Here to Help

Travel 101: How to Get the Most Out of Travel Rewards Cards

Sign-up bonuses, lounge access, cash rebates, free hotel rooms and plenty of fine print: The promotions and rules on earning and redeeming points with travel rewards credit cards can make your head spin. We'll help you cut through the confusion.

Rewards cards offer three types of value. There is typically a sign-up bonus, up to 120,000 points or miles after spending a minimum amount within a certain period. Then there are the points, miles or cash back you receive for spending with the card. Last, there are the benefits you receive as a cardholder, like credits for the Global Entry or TSA PreCheck application fees and access to airport lounges.

Weigh the rewards against the annual cost of a card, which can range from zero to $695, and which airlines, hotels and other partners it works with. Here are some ways to get the most of your cards. JULIE WEED

Make partnerships work for you. A co-branded card helps you achieve status faster. Cards co-branded with airlines may also offer perks like priority boarding, free checked bags and lounge access — a plus if you tend to fly on one carrier. Hotel chains offer similar co-branded cards.

Stretch points into pennies. Redemption values can change depending on how you use your points, said Gary Leff, of the travel site View From the Wing. His advice: Explore the variety of ways you can redeem them and aim to get at least one penny per point. American Express cardholders will

DANI PENDERGAST

get 1 cent per point when they're using their Membership Rewards balance to purchase an airline ticket or a hotel room on the Amex website.

Save big expenses for new cards. Tempted by a hefty sign-up bonus? Wait until you're planning a big vacation, doing a home renovation, or paying college tuition or another large expense, said Kylie Queisser, who offers travel advice on TikTok. Then use that big expense to meet the minimum spending requirement for the bonus.

Play to each card's strengths. If you don't mind a little juggling, tailoring cards to specific purchases can maximize benefits. For example, pair a Chase Sapphire Reserve card ($550), which earns three points per dollar on travel and dining expenses, with a no-annual-fee Chase Freedom Unlimited card, which earns one and a half points per dollar, for everything else.

Read the Travel 101 series at nytimes.com/travel.

The Mini Crossword

■	■	■	1	2	3	4
■	■	5				
■	6					
7						
8						■
9					■	■
10				■	■	■

9/9/2023 BY JOEL FAGLIANO

ACROSS

1 Noggin
5 Mount ___, highest peak in Los Angeles, named for its lack of tree cover
6 Greasy hairstyling product
7 Dog's uncontrollable need to run around in circles
8 ___ Joy (candy)
9 Your brother's daughter, to you
10 The "Y" of N.Y.C.

DOWN

1 Place to hang between two trees
2 Jerry's friend on "Seinfeld"
3 Thrown into the mix
4 Changes the color of
5 Person born in the 1950s, informally
6 Ailment suffered by F.D.R.
7 Wacky

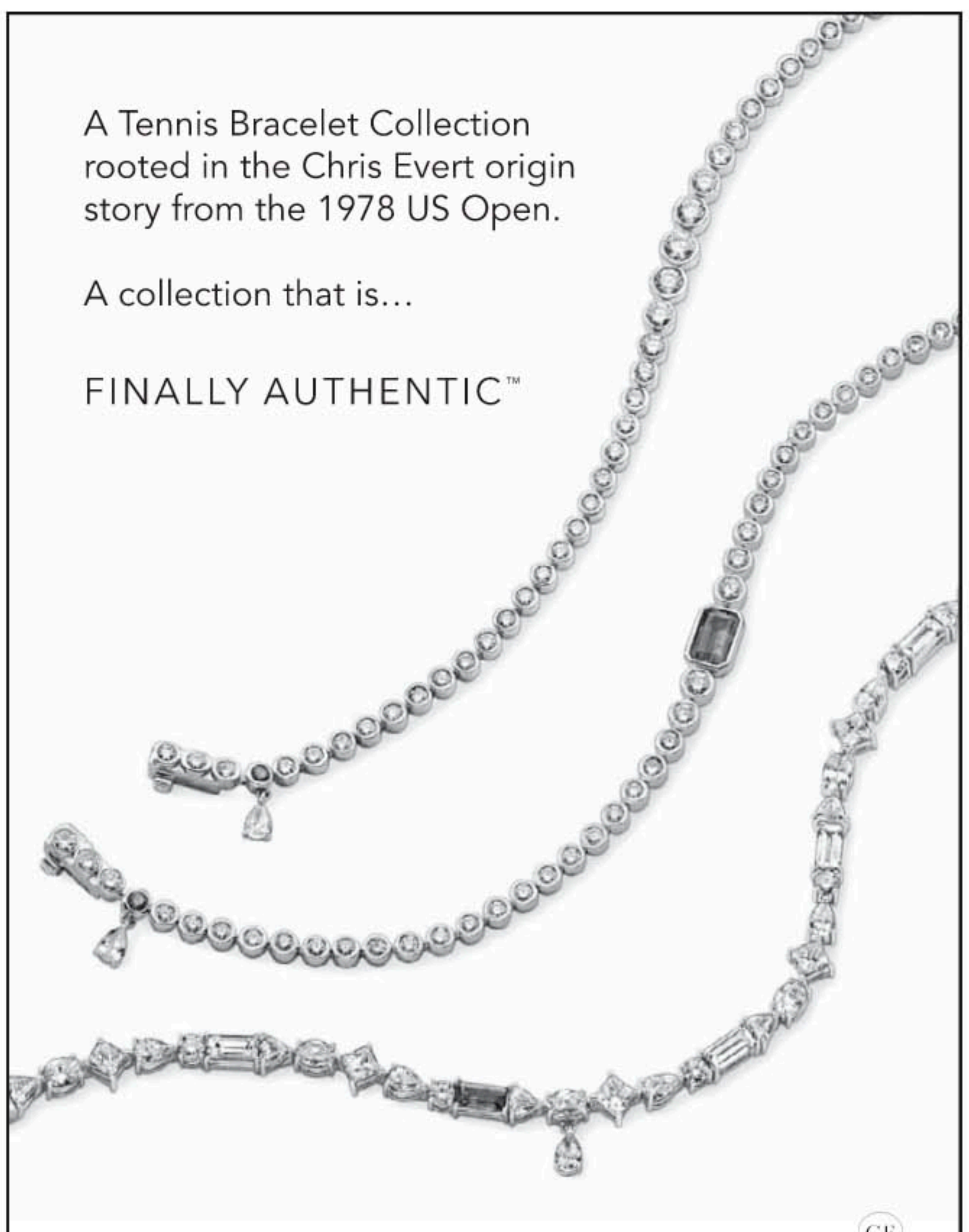
ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

Y	O	G	A	■
A	D	O	R	E
N	O	T	E	D
G	R	I	N	D
■	S	T	A	Y

A Tennis Bracelet Collection rooted in the Chris Evert origin story from the 1978 US Open.

A collection that is…

FINALLY AUTHENTIC™



THE TENNIS BRACELET CE
BORN 1978

MONICA RICH KOSANN

Please call 866.598.2784 or Visit Us at
MONICARICHKOSANN.COM

Sauté.
Sear.
Simmer.
Savor.

What to cook that's tried, tested and truly delicious.

Find thousands of recipes, guides for all skill levels, and more.

nytcooking.com

The New York Times
Cooking

The New York Times

Open the app.
Open the world.

The New York Times app.
Download now.

International

The New York Times

‘The military junta can oppress an artist physically, but the spirit and art cannot be oppressed.’

LAUREN DECICCA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

THE SATURDAY PROFILE LYNN LYNN

Rock Star, Bodyguard, Myanmar Filmmaker in Exile

By SUI-LEE WEE

MAE SOT, Thailand — Long before he became an award-winning filmmaker, Lynn Lynn was already a star.

His voice was ubiquitous on the radio, belting out rock songs, and he played sold-out shows in stadiums across the country. Everywhere he went, fans hounded him for selfies and autographs.

But all that fame was confined to Myanmar, a country he had to flee after a February 2021 military coup.

It wasn't only his lyrics about the suffering of people under military rule that had made him a target of the country's generals. He was also close to the country's now-imprisoned civilian leader, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, having once served as her bodyguard.

Now living in the Thai city of Mae Sot, bordering Myanmar, the 39-year-old rocker has taken on a new identity: refugee.

Despite the drastic changes in his circumstances, he has not given up on art, but he has changed his focus to film.

His first short movie, "The Beginning," whose main characters are a fictional group of people from Myanmar, focuses on the importance of good will in building a democratic nation. Five months later, he followed with "The Way," which captures the trauma and despair of a family suffering during a country's conflict; despite the dark themes, the movie is a musical — the first by a director from Myanmar.

Both films have won multiple honors at international film festivals, with "The Way" also earning multiple accolades for its soundtrack.

"I want to give the message that the military junta can oppress an artist physically, but the spirit and art cannot be oppressed," Mr. Lynn Lynn said, speaking from his spartan music studio, a bedroom in a rented house in Mae Sot.

Mr. Lynn Lynn's life story has been shaped by his country's convulsive recent history, shifting from dictatorship to democracy to the present-day resistance.

The youngest of four boys, he was born in the city of Mandalay to a railway worker father and a mother who stayed at home.

When he was 5, he saw close at hand the brutality of the army whose leaders ruled the country: soldiers pulling passengers from a boat and commanding everyone — regardless of age — to kneel. That scene of dominance and humiliation, he says, has stayed with him throughout his adult life.

As a 9-year-old, he taught himself how to play guitar. After high school, he moved to Yangon, the capital at the time, where he cycled through a series of jobs, including bus conductor and security guard, while trying to start a musical career.

His big break came in 2001, after he walked into a recording studio to drop off his demo tape and was soon hired to compose songs for some of Myanmar's most famous singers. He established a reputation for composing original songs, a rarity in a country where nearly all the songs were copied from abroad.

In 2007, he marched daily with the country's monks during the Saffron Revolution protests. He read over and over again "Freedom From Fear," a book of essays by Ms. Aung San Suu Kyi, at the time the leader of the country's opposition, who was under house arrest.

LAUREN DECICCA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mr. Lynn Lynn's wife, Chit Thu Wai, pointed to some of the 700 names tattooed on his back; all were killed in the aftermath of the February 2021 coup.

LAUREN DECICCA/GETTY IMAGES

Mr. Lynn Lynn read the writings of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi while she was Myanmar's opposition leader. He later served as her bodyguard, center right.

He learned how to navigate the country's censors. Out of every five songs submitted, he was instructed to change the lyrics of three. Sometimes, he submitted different lyrics and then later swapped back in the original words, without anyone seeming to notice.

"He is a rebel," said his wife, Chit Thu Wai, a well-known actress and singer.

In 2008, Mr. Lynn Lynn released "Think," an album with love songs that he had written initially for other singers. It was an instant hit and catapulted him to stardom.

In 2011, the military initiated a range of political changes, including releasing Ms. Aung San Suu Kyi, who convened a gathering of the country's artists at her house.

There, Mr. Lynn Lynn told the Nobel Peace Prize winner he would be willing to do anything for her. He became one of her bodyguards during the 2012 by-election and the 2015 general election.

After she won in 2015, becoming the country's civilian leader, Mr. Lynn Lynn returned to music. Able to sing openly about the generals, he released an album called "The Fourth Revolution."

Then, in February 2021, two months after Ms. Aung San Suu Kyi won the 2020 election in a landslide, the military detained her and announced it had taken power in a coup.

The junta charged dozens of actors and musicians, including Mr. Lynn Lynn and his wife, with "incitement." After months in hiding, the family decided reluctantly to leave Myanmar.

Mr. Lynn Lynn went first in August 2021, trekking across a jungle and then swimming to Mae Sot. Ms. Chit Thu Wai and their twin daughters, now 6, followed a week later.

Mr. Lynn Lynn had never wanted to make movies in Myanmar. While he dabbled in script writing and supported independent filmmakers through a production company he owned with his wife, he considered most of the movies made in Myanmar to be too lowbrow to much interest him.

He says he turned to film in part to "challenge" his artistic peers back home, many of whom allow the generals to use them for propaganda.

Myanmar's Directorate of Public Relations and Psychological Warfare has always exploited actors and actresses, using them in films to portray soldiers as honorable heroes. In return for staying silent, these celebrities enjoy perks, like being paid to attend galas such as the Myanmar Academy Awards.

Mr. Lynn Lynn says he has noticed that the timing of these celebrity events often coincides with reports about more military atrocities. Nearly every week brings horrific news: 100 dead in an airstrike. Bombs dropped at an outdoor concert. Eleven children killed at a school.

Midway through an interview in Mae Sot, Mr. Lynn Lynn lifted up his T-shirt to reveal his back. In neat, cursive script, there were 700 tattooed names and ages of some of those killed in the coup's aftermath.

Aung Myint, 32. Tun Win Han, 25. Khin Myo Chit, 7.

"There are so many more to come," Ms. Chit Thu Wai said.

Mr. Lynn Lynn says he looks at the names in the mirror to "compel a sense of urgency upon my consciousness." The Assistance Association for Political Prisoners, a rights group, said more than 4,000 people had been killed in Myanmar since the coup.

Mr. Lynn Lynn knew that shooting movies in Mae Sot, so close to Myanmar, was dangerous. Seventeen of 20 cast members of "The Way" stood accused of "incitement," and they feared Myanmar military's spies were everywhere, raising concerns they could be abducted or killed.

In the movie, members of the central family sing about their hardships during conflict and their quest for peace and justice. Myanmar is never explicitly mentioned because, Mr. Lynn Lynn says, he wants the story to be universal.

Two weeks before the shoot, he was still not sure how he would pull it off without the sophisticated equipment typically needed to make a film. He decided to borrow a friend's iPhone 13 Pro to use as the camera. For the music, he gave himself a crash course in sound mixing.

Mr. Lynn Lynn's cast members had never acted before, but some had backgrounds similar to the stories that he wanted to depict. His directorial advice was to read the script and "feel it in your heart," recalled Aung Lun, one of the actors, who had left his 5-year-old son and wife behind in Myanmar when he fled in 2021.

Mr. Aung Lun's character in "The Way" leaves his baby daughter at a school as soldiers set fire to their village. Years later, his character confesses that secret to his family.

During that scene, Mr. Aung Lun cried so hard the crew had to pause the shoot for an hour.

As Mr. Lynn Lynn waits to hear whether he and his family can be resettled in the United States, he has more film projects in the works, including a satire set in Myanmar before the coup.

Wherever he finds himself, he intends to keep making films.

"I want to use a language understood by the entire universe," he said. "I want to show that even while we are on the run, our art will continue to live powerfully."

North Korea Says Its Sub Can Launch Nuclear Arms

By CHOE SANG-HUN

SEOUL — North Korea said on Friday that its first submarine capable of launching nuclear missiles was now operational, a development that would give the country a new, harder-to-detect means of launching a nuclear strike.

The new "tactical nuclear attack submarine," a remodeled Soviet-era vessel equipped with multiple launching tubes, was unveiled in a ceremony on Wednesday, state media reported. In a speech, Kim Jong-un, the North's leader, vowed to similarly convert more of its existing submarine fleet, calling it "an urgent task of the times" to "arm the navy with nuclear weapons."

But South Korea's military expressed skepticism about the submarine on Friday, saying that it "doesn't look capable of normal operation" and that there were signs of "deception and exaggeration" in the North's report.

The United States and its allies have been closely watching the North's attempts to develop a sub that could launch nuclear and other ballistic missiles. The capabilities of the one introduced this week, originally a Romeo-class Soviet submarine, are unknown; there is no evidence that North Korea has test-launched a missile from the vessel.

Photos released on Friday with the state media report show that the submarine has 10 vertical missile launch tubes of two different sizes, said Yang Uk, a weapons expert at the Asan Institute for Policy Studies in Seoul. It has an "abnormally large" missile launch deck for its size, as if the North wanted to show off its nuclear force, Mr. Yang said.

That structure "will limit the submarine's underwater stealthiness and maneuverability," Mr. Yang added. "Still, the design reflects Kim Jong-un's policy of increasing his nuclear force 'exponentially.'"

The submarine is powered by a diesel engine. That means that, unlike a nuclear-powered submarine, it would have to resurface frequently during a long-distance trip, like crossing the Pacific. For a distant adversary like the United States, that makes it more detectable, and less of a threat, than a nuclear-powered sub.

Nevertheless, it could potentially pose a new threat to the North's regional adversaries, South Korea and Japan. Choi Il, a retired South Korean Navy submarine captain, said it was designed to carry shorter-range ballistic and cruise missiles that could reach those countries, not strategic ballistic missiles that could target the United States mainland.

"Our enemies will consider today's launching a burden similar to the building of a new nuclear-powered submarine by us," Mr. Kim said in his speech.

The new submarine — named Hero Kim Kun Ok, after a naval officer who fought in the Korean War — was unveiled days ahead of the 75th anniversary of the North's founding, on Saturday. North Korea often celebrates its major holidays by staging a military parade or unveiling or testing new weapons.

Last month, the country tried and failed for a second time to put its first military reconnaissance satellite into orbit, a launch that analysts speculated was timed to generate propaganda for the Saturday holiday.

North Korea has dozens of small, diesel-powered submarines equipped with torpedoes, but before this week none had been capable of launching a ballistic missile. Since 2015, the North has been testing ballistic missiles designed for submarines, launching them from a submerged barge or a Soviet-era sub remodeled as an underwater test platform, with a single launch tube.

During recent military parades, the North has also displayed what looked like new, longer-range submarine-launched ballistic missiles. In 2019, state media released photos of Mr. Kim inspecting the submarine, then under construction, that was introduced this week.

The Hero Kim Kun Ok will serve as a standard for turning more old submarines into nuclear-capable models, Mr. Kim said in his speech. He also said his country had plans to build a nuclear-propelled submarine, as well as more advanced engines for its existing fleet.

It remains unclear how far North Korea is from its goal of building a fleet of submarines that can travel quietly and launch nuclear attacks. But American officials said this month that Mr. Kim planned to visit Russia soon for a meeting with President Vladimir V. Putin. That summit could lead to Russian technological support for the North's nuclear and missile programs, in exchange for North Korean munitions, like artillery shells, that Russia needs for its war in Ukraine.

In addition to its submarine program, North Korea has been trying to make its ballistic missiles harder to detect and intercept, and it has tested cruise missiles and underwater drones that it said could carry nuclear warheads. An ability to launch nuclear strikes from underwater would be a major addition to the North's growing nuclear arsenal.

In July, the United States docked a nuclear-capable ballistic missile submarine in South Korea for the first time in four decades, to show its commitment to defending its ally.

At G20 in India, Biden Looks to Shore Up Ties

Russian and Chinese Leaders Absent

KENNY HOLSTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Biden being greeted upon arriving in New Delhi on Friday. He then met with Prime Minister Narendra Modi of India.

By KATIE ROGERS and PETER BAKER

NEW DELHI — President Biden arrived in New Delhi on Friday for a global summit meeting where he will present the United States as an economic and strategic counterweight to China and Russia, taking advantage of the absence of leaders from those two countries, who are skipping the gathering.

Arriving in India on Friday evening, Mr. Biden shook hands with Eric Garcetti, the United States ambassador to India, before traveling to the residence of Prime Minister Narendra Modi for a bilateral meeting. Jake Sullivan, Mr. Biden's national security adviser, accompanied the president.

Mr. Biden is bringing to India the promise of up to $200 billion in new development funds for climate change, food security, public health and other infrastructure needs in less developed countries through revamped international financing institutions like the World Bank, leveraged by a relatively small investment by the United States.

He and Mr. Modi ended their 52-minute meeting — where they discussed India's recent moon landing, investments in the Indian technology sector and working together in the Indo-Pacific — by issuing a lengthy joint promise to further deepen a relationship that they said was "based on trust and mutual understanding."

The initiative represents an American-led response to China's Belt and Road project providing loans to poorer countries to build ports, rail lines and telecommunications networks, a venture that has expanded Beijing's influence in parts of the world where it rarely played much of a role before. Mr. Biden's plan would match only a fraction of the Chinese investments in recent years but offers an alternative to Beijing's presence as an omnipresent and often unforgiving creditor.

The president will have an important opportunity at the Group of 20 meeting thanks to the decisions by President Xi Jinping of China and President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia to not attend. Mr. Biden will have room to present a case to a large group of important world leaders that they should align with the United States on matters that include condemning Russia's war in Ukraine and curbing China's increasing assertiveness in the Indo-Pacific.

Mr. Biden landed in New Delhi on a different political footing than he had less than a year ago at the G20 summit in Bali, when he was bolstered by better-than-expected midterm election results by Democratic candidates and held a high-stakes meeting with Mr. Xi centered around rebuilding a relationship that was threatening to boil over.

This year, Mr. Biden faces heightened concerns around his age — he will turn 81 in November — as he campaigns for a second term. A poll released by CNN on Thursday showed that his approval ratings remain low. A special counsel has indicated that he planned to indict the president's son Hunter on a gun charge by the end of the month.

On top of it all, there is concern that a resurgence of Covid-19 may affect Mr. Biden at some point during his trip to India and Vietnam after Jill Biden, the first lady, was diagnosed with the coronavirus this week. The president tested negative before boarding Air Force One on Thursday and will continue to be tested while overseas.

The president plans to use the trip to shore up his relationship with the G20 host, Mr. Modi, who is using the economic-focused meeting to showcase the promise and potential of a juggernaut Indian economy. Mr. Modi is so intent on a successful event that his government declared a three-day national holiday surrounding the meeting, closing many businesses and restaurants and increasing security throughout the capital.

Mr. Biden, who hosted Mr. Modi for a state dinner in Washington in June, met the prime minister shortly after his scheduled arrival in New Delhi on Friday evening. He plans to attend meetings with other leaders on Saturday and visit the Raj Ghat memorial to Gandhi on Sunday before leaving for Vietnam, where he will seal a strategic agreement.

"What Modi has demonstrated, and what the U.S. is leaning into, is a leader who is willing to make bets on the future of the country," Nirav Patel, the chief executive of the Asia Group and deputy assistant secretary of state for East Asia and the Pacific under President Barack Obama, said in an interview. "The diplomatic as well as political stability that Modi enjoys allows this relationship to be more fruitful, and Biden has leaned into that."

Mr. Modi, who is seeking a third term next year, has been criticized for his government's record on human rights and faces concerns that he is presiding over a backsliding democracy. During Mr. Modi's state visit to Washington, Mr. Biden coaxed him into answering questions from reporters during a news conference, one of the rare times the nationalist prime minister has done so in his nearly decade-long tenure.

Challenged on his record on human rights and religious freedom, Mr. Modi insisted that democracy is "in India's DNA" and denied that his government has fostered prejudice.

It remains to be seen how much of a partner Mr. Modi will ultimately be in Mr. Biden's broad efforts to counter China's rising aggression in the Indo-Pacific. India, which remained staunchly nonaligned during the Cold War, has likewise refused to join the American-led coalition aiding Ukraine in its war against invading Russian forces.

Officials in the Indian government have suggested that any joint communication on Ukraine at the G20 incorporate Russia's and China's views, a conciliatory approach that is at odds with the more aggressive stance taken by Western leaders. China will be represented in New Delhi by Premier Li Qiang and Russia by Foreign Minister Sergey V. Lavrov.

"The reality is that Russia's illegal war has had devastating social and economic consequences, and the poorest countries on the planet are bearing the brunt of that," Jake Sullivan, the president's national security adviser, told reporters this week. Mr. Biden, he added, "will continue to emphasize that the United States will support Ukraine for as long as it takes to redeem these principles."

Mr. Biden is also expected to hold separate meetings with several other leaders while he is in New Delhi, discussing a range of shared threats, including the rise of artificial technology and climate change.

The White House has not identified which leaders he will meet with, but many are watching to see if Mr. Biden sits down with Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman of Saudi Arabia. Mr. Biden's envoys are trying to broker a diplomatic opening between Saudi Arabia and Israel that could transform the Middle East.

Mr. Sullivan said the president would spend much of his time in New Delhi urging other leaders to bolster global development banks, including the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, to make it easier for poor countries to gain access to credit.

The White House asked Congress last month for $3.3 billion to expand development financing both through the World Bank and separately, which it said would leverage more than $27 billion for developing countries. It also asked Congress to authorize the government to lend to two International Monetary Fund trust funds, which it said would unlock up to $21 billion in new lending without additional American money. Altogether, the White House said it believes it could leverage those funds into $200 billion in credit with the help of partner countries over the next decade.

"Those are crucial additional resources for reducing poverty, advancing global health security and combating climate change," Treasury Secretary Janet L. Yellen told reporters in New Delhi.

Mr. Biden is scheduled to travel on Sunday to Hanoi, Vietnam, where he will focus on positioning the United States as a stable and reliable ally in the Indo-Pacific. Vietnam has agreed to elevate its diplomatic relationship with the United States to its highest status, equivalent to its ties with China and Russia.

If the trip goes well, Mr. Patel said, "it will send a global signal" that Vietnam has "made a determination over how it seeks to determine its own strategic future."

Vietnam and U.S. Forge Deeper Ties Amid Rising Mutual Wariness of China

From Page A1

The agreement would send a message to China that Vietnam is now closer in the orbit of the United States. But there are limits.

For decades, Vietnam has leveraged its ties with Russia and China to gain advantage, even while making clear that it would not choose sides in any conflict. Hanoi is unlikely to join in a coalition against China because of its "Four No's" policy: no participating in military alliances, no siding with one country to act against another, no foreign military bases, and no using force in international relations.

Mr. Biden will be meeting with Nguyen Phu Trong, the general secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam, over the objections of human rights activists who say that the U.S. government's professed commitment to promoting democracy and human rights abroad has been cast aside in favor of shoring up U.S. dominance in the region. Vietnam continues to be one of the most authoritarian countries in Southeast Asia, and Mr. Trong's government has waged an especially harsh crackdown on dissent and activism in recent years.

Ben Swanton, co-director of the 88 Project, a U.S.-based nonprofit that focuses on human rights issues in Vietnam, said that closer ties between the United States and Vietnam had coincided with a significant increase in rights abuses by the Vietnamese state against its own citizens.

"It's outrageous that President Biden has chosen to upgrade diplomatic ties with Vietnam at a time when the one-party state is in the middle of a brutal crackdown on activism, dissent, and civil society," Mr. Swanton said in a statement. "Despite lofty rhetoric about promoting a 'rules-based international order' and defending freedom, Biden is once again cozying up to autocrats with atrocious human rights records."

The U.S.-Vietnam relationship started off slow because of mistrust. For most of the 1990s, both countries were still preoccupied with dealing with the aftermath of the war, which ended in 1975.

"It's ironic in a way that the way we started working together and building relationships and trust was by working on these issues," said Scot Marciel, a fellow at Stanford University, who was the first U.S. diplomat to work in Hanoi since the end of the war.

The Biden administration has urgently sought displays of solidarity against China, and Vietnam is one of the few Southeast Asian nations that has publicly pushed back against China's assertiveness in the South China Sea.

For these reasons, Vietnam represents "a critical swing state," according to Kurt Campbell, Washington's Indo-Pacific point person. "Even though we have different kinds of government, different overall values, I believe, fundamentally, the ability to work closely with Vietnam will be decisive for us going forward," Mr. Campbell said in 2021.

Some leaders still publicly liken the relationship between Vietnam and China, which share an 800-mile border, to that of "comrades and brothers." But the two countries have a tense and painful history — including a millennium-long stretch in which China was Vietnam's colonial overlord — that has left Vietnam deeply wary of its largest neighbor.

The two countries fought a brief war in 1979, but began normalizing relations in the early 1990s. The relationship sharply worsened again in 2014 after Beijing moved an oil rig in waters claimed by Vietnam. It prompted the Vietnamese government to seek out other countries as counterweights to China.

President Biden will meet with Nguyen Phu Trong, Vietnam's Communist Party general secretary, drawing criticism from human rights activists.

"What changed in Vietnam's cooperation with other countries is that before 2014, Vietnam was still cautious and still emphasized the self-reliance principle," said Bich Tran, a postdoctoral fellow at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy in Singapore. "But after that, you saw an increasing number of vessels and equipment — Vietnam was willing to accept security assistance."

Surveys have shown that a majority of Vietnamese elites welcome the political and strategic influence of the United States and are worried about China's rise. Vietnam has "paid lip service" to Chinese programs such as the Belt and Road Initiative but has resisted making any commitments to them, said Alexander Vuving, a professor at the Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies in Honolulu.

China is watching the deepening U.S.-Vietnam relationship with concern. In April 2022, Foreign Minister Wang Yi of China called his counterpart in Vietnam, Bui Thanh Son, to stress that the United States was trying to "create regional tension and incite antagonism and confrontation by pushing ahead with the 'Indo-Pacific Strategy.'"

"We can't let the Cold War mentality resurge in the region and the tragedy of Ukraine be repeated around us," Mr. Wang said.

Perhaps in a bid to dilute the significance of Sunday's agreement, Vietnam has indicated in recent weeks that it also plans to upgrade ties with Japan, Australia, Indonesia and Singapore.

For much of its history, Vietnam has been a close partner of Russia, the top supplier of weapons to the Southeast Asia state. But Russia's invasion of Ukraine stirred anxiety in Vietnam, leaving leaders increasingly worried about managing its traditional alliances with Russia and China in a more polarized world, said Carlyle Thayer, emeritus professor of politics at the University of New South Wales in Sydney.

Now, the upgrading of ties with the United States could lead to more American defense assistance. The United States — which lifted an arms embargo to Vietnam in 2016 — has transferred two coast guard vessels to Vietnam, with plans to send one more. Vietnam has also expressed interest in buying F-16 fighters and unarmed drones.

Each country has assets that the other side needs. Vietnam wants help from the United States in sharing technology to develop its nascent semiconductor industry and maritime surveillance. American technology companies looking to diversify away from China have found that Vietnam can be a partial alternative.

Analysts say Vietnam is likely to present its deepening alignment with the United States to China in economic terms. The United States is now the biggest export market and the second-biggest trading partner for Vietnam. In 2022, U.S.-Vietnam trade reached $124 billion, still lower than China-Vietnam trade at $176 billion.

There are other signs that Vietnam is seeking to soften the impact on China of a closer bond with the United States.

In recent months, Mr. Trong has met with multiple senior Chinese officials, ostensibly to notify them about the upgrade in ties with the United States. On Wednesday, the Chinese Communist Party's international department head Liu Jianchao met with Mr. Trong and "both sides agreed to consolidate political mutual trust."

Mr. Liu told representatives from some Vietnamese think-tanks and media that "China is willing to join hands with all peace-loving" countries.

In response, a Vietnamese official told him that "in the face of the current complex and changing international situation and emerging global crises, countries around the world should strengthen unity and cooperation." The official called on China to "make greater contributions to regional and world peace."

PHOTOGRAPHS BY NHAC NHUYEN/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Mr. Biden is expected to oversee the signing of a "comprehensive strategic partnership" with Hanoi, a status long coveted by the U.S.

4_97542216

HARISH TYAGI/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

A cutout of a langur is tied to a fence in New Delhi to scare away monkeys before the G20, the first to take place in India.

Keeping Monkeys at Bay Part of G20 Preparations

By SAMEER YASIR and MIKE IVES

If you're ever in New Delhi and think you hear a monkey, don't assume it's a monkey. It could be a professional monkey noise impersonator.

That's because humans have been trained to imitate the guttural grunts and shrieks of gray langurs, a type of large monkey that can scare away the smaller kinds that tend to invade city officials' residences or disrupt state visits.

This weekend, the impersonators will take on a fresh challenge: keeping monkeys, which often evade guards by swinging through tree canopies, from barging into venues for the Group of 20 summit of world leaders, the first to take place in India.

The event is an important one for India on the global stage, and the government does not want monkeys to steal the spotlight.

"We are trying everything to keep the monkeys away," Satish Upadhyay, vice chairman of the New Delhi Municipal Council, said in an interview. The campaign includes training 40 people to imitate langur noises and placing life-size cutouts of the animals, which can weigh more than 30 pounds, around the venues.

Every place has its unique challenges in hosting a large and prestigious event. Gatherings like the 2010 G20 summit in Toronto and the 1999 World Trade Organization meeting in Seattle were disrupted by protests. Before their turns hosting the Olympics, Beijing, Paris and Salt Lake City tried to hide poor and homeless residents.

New Delhi, too, faces problems including air pollution and its reputation as a city that is unsafe for women. Amid India's G20 promotional blitz, advocates say the city's poor have been hidden away.

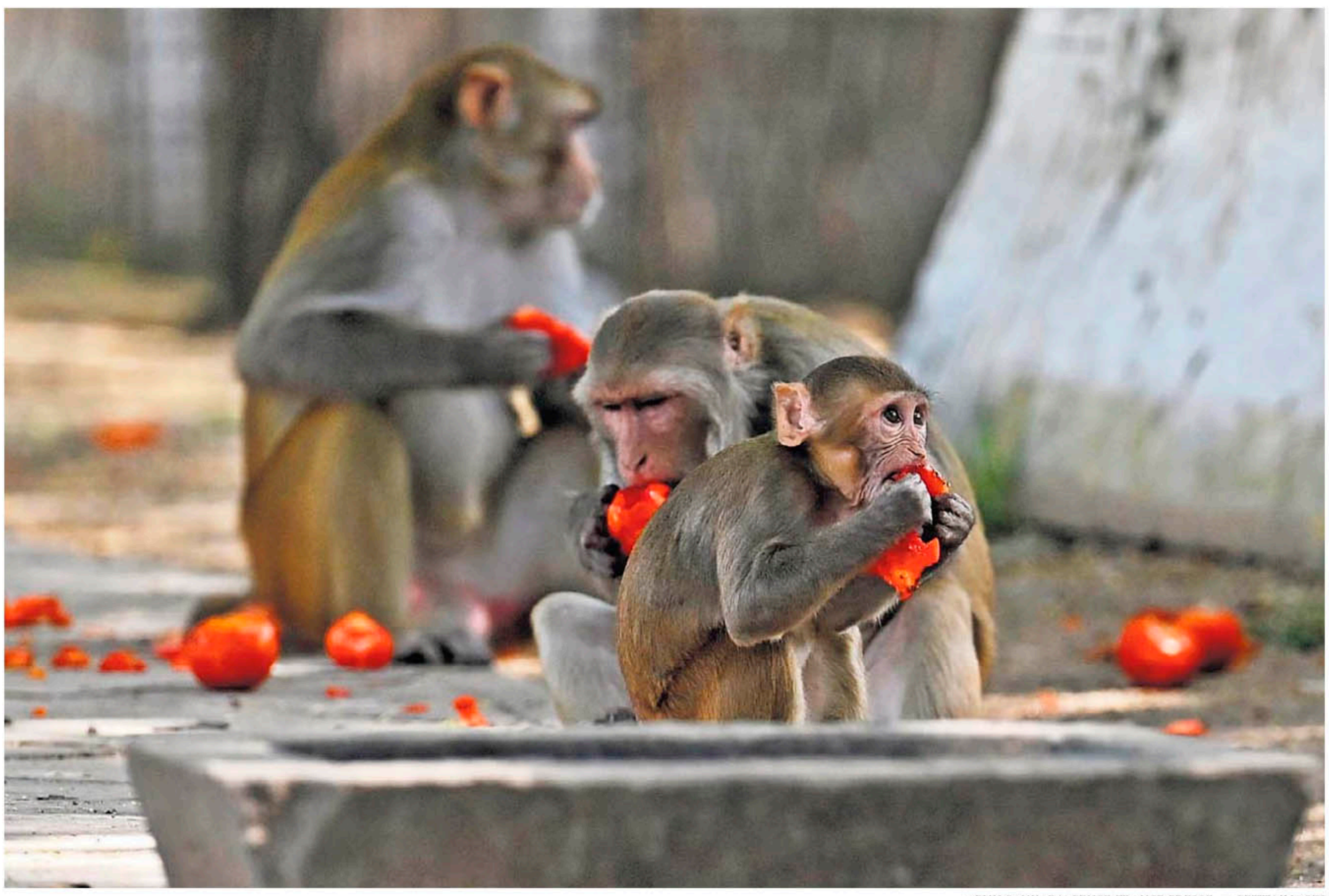
And then there are the wild monkeys, mainly rhesus macaques.

They are not shy. They steal food and chase pedestrians. They sometimes ride buses and subway trains. They have attacked patients inside hospitals, invaded the Defense Ministry and the prime minister's office and romped in the Indian Parliament building.

Such antics occasionally have deadly consequences. In an extreme case, a deputy mayor died in 2007 after falling from his balcony while trying to scare away monkeys by using a stick.

"The monkeys are naughty and they can arrive at your dinner table, in any house in Delhi," said Abdul Khan, a freelance monkey noise imitator in New Delhi, whose uncle once used live monkeys to shoo smaller ones. "It doesn't matter how many security guards you have outside the gate."

A number of Indian and overseas news outlets kicked off their coverage of the G20 last week with reports on the government's plans for scaring off the macaques. Manisha Pande, the managing editor at Newslaundry, an Indian media watchdog, said such coverage was "as clichéd as it gets" and that many Indians were "quite bored of the foreign press regurgitating the same monkey story."



ARUN SANKAR/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Monkeys along a roadside in New Delhi. A campaign is underway to keep the animals from disrupting the meeting of world leaders.

The summit is a crucial event for India on the global stage.

She said she could not recall any event or summit in the country ever being disrupted by monkeys.

"That said, monkeys are known to be a bit of an urban menace when it comes to Delhi and many other cities of South Asia and Southeast Asia, just like sea gulls are a menace in any coastal European city," she said.

Deploying monkey noise impersonators during state visits and other important functions is a relatively new tactic in Delhi, and it is a far less aggressive one than those city authorities used in the past: human monkey chasers and actual gray langurs, not to mention slingshots, stones and tranquilizer guns.

In 2012, the national government banned the use of actual langurs, after activists said the practice amounted to animal cruelty. Most of those langurs were captured from the wild in violation of Indian laws, said Valentina Sclafani, a psychologist at the University of Lincoln in Britain who has studied primate behavior.

Another challenge is that in Hinduism, India's dominant religion, monkeys are viewed as representations of a deity, and some people like to feed them as a traditional offering.

So Delhi officials began looking for other options. Langur voice mimickers, for instance, were part of a larger effort to tidy up Delhi's rough edges ahead of President Obama's 2015 state visit.

Does such mimicry actually work, though?

Emily Bethell, an expert on primate behavior and social cognition at Liverpool John Moores University in Britain, said that she had found no peer-reviewed studies on langur voice mimicry being an effective strategy for containing a macaque population.

Still, she said, the practice appears to be based on a sound understanding of macaque behavior.

"Whether they can mimic those calls so closely that a macaque would interpret them as coming from a langur we cannot know without rigorous scientific testing," Dr. Bethell said in an email. "However, the macaques may be familiar with humans making these calls and associate them with threat, which could be enough."

Dr. Sclafani also expressed cautious optimism about the practice, saying there is some evidence that macaques can recognize and respond to langurs' alarm and territorial calls under certain conditions.

A hypothetical monkey disruption at the G20 could threaten the government's "meticulously built" reputation for event management and give the political opposition fodder to attack Prime Minister Narendra Modi's governing party ahead of upcoming state-level elections, said Sanjeev M.A., a professor of marketing at the Jaipuria Institute of Management in Lucknow, India, who has studied crisis communication by Indian officials during the coronavirus pandemic.

If any monkeys were to be killed, he added, that would upset members of India's Hindu majority and allow the opposition to question the government's religious sensitivities.

Mr. Upadhyay, the municipal official, declined a reporter's request to interview some of the impersonators. He said their work was part of continuing research by forestry officials to find new ways of scaring off monkeys.

He expressed confidence in the impersonators' chances of success at the G20.

"Will it be 100 percent effective?" he said. "It doesn't work that way."

Russian Strike Prompts U.S. to Expand F-16 Patrols Over Romania

By LARA JAKES

It will be months, at least, before F-16s are flying over Ukraine, but the United States is expanding patrol flights by the fighter jet right up to the Ukrainian border after debris following a Russian drone attack appeared to have fallen into neighboring Romania this week.

After a two-day diplomatic mission to Kyiv, Secretary of State Antony J. Blinken said the United States would send additional rotations of its F-16s to a NATO mission to secure the airspace of Romania, a member of the Western military alliance.

The new commitment was announced after a call that Mr. Blinken had on Thursday with Romania's foreign minister, Luminita Odobescu, to discuss air space security amid an investigation by the government in Bucharest into the origins of the debris.

Mr. Blinken "affirmed our unwavering support to Romania, our NATO ally," according to a State Department summary of the call.

It was not immediately clear how many more F-16s — which already participate in NATO patrols over Eastern Europe — would be added to the patrols over Romania, or when they would start. American military officials did not respond to requests for comment on Friday.

Late on Tuesday, Romanian officials said that debris suspected to be from a Russian drone was found in Romanian territory across the Danube River from the Ukrainian port of Izmail. Russian drones have struck the port city repeatedly in recent weeks as Moscow targets what has been a shipping lifeline for Ukraine.

It remains unclear how the debris got there, including whether it had landed by accident. Romania's president, Klaus Iohannis, has warned that if the wreckage turns out to be from a Russian weapon, it would amount to "a serious violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Romania, a NATO allied state."

But so far, Romania has stopped short of any sign that it might invoke Article 5 of the NATO treaty, the cornerstone of the alliance's mutual defense pact, that could expand the war.

NATO and its member states are flying air surveillance and air policing missions over NATO territory, territorial waters and international waters over the Black Sea, but are careful not to stray into the war zone. Amid mounting tensions in the Black Sea, NATO in July said it had increased the number of such flights.

Throughout the war, NATO aircraft have frequently intercepted Russian fighter jets that have flown too close to allied nations' airspace. Three weeks ago, British and Danish fighter jets were scrambled to confront Russian bombers that officials said were heading toward Scotland and the Netherlands. The Russian planes turned back without incident.

Andrew Higgins contributed reporting.

POOL PHOTO BY BRENDAN SMIALOWSKI

Secretary of State Antony J. Blinken in Kyiv, Ukraine. Debris from a drone attack fell into Romania, a NATO member, this week.

Russian Missiles Blast Hometown Of Zelensky

By VICTORIA KIM

A Russian missile landed in the center of the Ukrainian city of Kryvyi Rih early Friday, killing at least one person and injuring more than 50 others, Ukrainian officials said.

The missile damaged a police administration building, killing an officer and trapping several employees in the rubble, said Ihor Klymenko, Ukraine's interior minister. Nine police officers were among the injured, Mr. Klymenko said on the Telegram messaging app.

Serhii Lysak, the regional military administrator, said three people had been severely wounded but most of the others had moderate injuries and were in stable condition.

Russian missiles also landed Friday morning in civilian areas in the Sumy region, in northern Ukraine, and in the Zaporizhzhia region in the south, officials said. In Sumy, a two-story residential building was destroyed, and two people were rescued from the rubble. In Zaporizhzhia, one person was injured, local officials said.

Kryvyi Rih, a city in central Ukraine about 45 miles from the front lines, is President Volodymyr Zelensky's hometown and has been pummeled repeatedly by Russian attacks in recent months.

In late July, Russian forces attacked the city with missiles, killing at least six people and wounding 75 others. In June, a strike on a warehouse and a five-story apartment building killed 12 people.

Zelensky Says Russia Is Counting on U.S. Elections to Stop Flow of Aid to Ukraine

By ANDREW E. KRAMER

KYIV, Ukraine — The American presidential election now looms over Russia's war in Ukraine, President Volodymyr Zelensky suggested on Friday in his most extensive comments in recent weeks on U.S. politics and the war.

Mr. Zelensky, speaking at a conference in Kyiv on security matters, said Russia is hoping an opponent of military aid to Ukraine will win in the United States — but that he did not believe U.S. policy would shift either way.

"Of course, they are counting on this," Mr. Zelensky said of Russians. "They are counting on the American elections very much."

Some G.O.P. hopefuls favor redirecting aid to domestic needs.

Ukraine has broad support from both major political parties in the United States, but former President Donald J. Trump and other Republican candidates have said they would halt or diminish aid, and redirect those funds for domestic needs.

Ukraine is deeply dependent on American aid. The United States is the largest source of weaponry and ammunition to Ukraine. It provides about one-third of the Western military aid that has been sustaining Ukraine's military as the full-scale war has stretched beyond a year and a half, though European Union nations have provided more as a proportion to the size of their economies.

Speaking at the YES forum conference, which took place in a basement in Kyiv on Friday as a security precaution against Russian missiles, Mr. Zelensky said he was confident in continued aid because a majority of Americans support it. Those opposing assistance might merely be pursuing "populist" positions during elections, he said.

"Whoever will be the leader, they will always be leaning on the opinion of the American people," Mr. Zelensky said.

Mr. Zelensky, schooled in U.S. partisan politics when his government found itself in the spotlight during the first impeachment trial of President Trump in 2019, has treaded lightly in his public comments on American politics.

Democrats in Congress voted to convict President Trump for withholding military aid while asking Mr. Zelensky to announce an investigation of President Biden's son, Hunter, in the lead-up to the 2020 U.S. elections. But Mr. Zelensky refrained from formally announcing the investigation Mr. Trump had sought and refused to confirm Democrats' claims he had been pressured to do so.

Maintaining bipartisan support for security assistance is pivotal to Ukraine's national interest.

In his remarks on Friday, Mr. Zelensky said that the war has entered a slower phase — both on the battlefield as Ukraine wages a counteroffensive and on the political front. It has become more difficult for Ukraine to obtain weaponry and to persuade other nations to impose sanctions on Russia, he said.

"The war is slowing down," he said. "This is true, we recognize this. All the processes are becoming harder and slowing down, from sanctions to the delivery of weapons."

On Ukraine's domestic politics, Mr. Zelensky said he favored holding presidential elections as scheduled next year even though they have been suspended under martial law that has been in effect since Russia's invasion. But he noted the risk of disenfranchising millions of people who could not vote in their usual polling sites, including soldiers fighting at the front, refugees and residents of Russian occupied territories and said he would not call elections unless all groups could vote.

Climate Report Card Says Countries Are Trying, but Progress Is Still Slow

By BRAD PLUMER

Eight years after world leaders approved a landmark agreement in Paris to fight climate change, countries have made only limited progress in staving off the most dangerous effects of global warming, according to the first official report card on the global climate treaty.

Many of the worst-case climate change scenarios that were much feared in the early 2010s look far less likely today, the report said. The authors partly credit the 2015 Paris Agreement, under which, for the first time, almost every country agreed to submit a voluntary plan to curb its own planet-warming emissions. Since then, the rise in global greenhouse gases has notably slowed.

Yet those efforts still aren't enough to avoid calamity, according to the report, which was written by representatives from the United States and South Africa and based on contributions from hundreds of governments, scientists and civil society groups from around the world.

Under the Paris Agreement, countries vowed to limit the rise in average global temperatures to "well below" 2 degrees Celsius, or 3.6 Fahrenheit, above preindustrial levels and make a good-faith effort to stay at 1.5 degrees Celsius. Past that level, the dangers from intense flooding, wildfires, drought, heat waves and species extinction could become unmanageable, scientists have said. Earth has already heated up roughly 1.2 degrees Celsius since preindustrial times.

Countries are far from meeting those goals. Current climate pledges would put the world on track for a significantly more hazardous 2.5 degrees Celsius or so of warming by 2100, assuming nations followed through on their plans. In order to keep global warming at safer levels, global emissions would need to plunge roughly 60 percent by 2035, which would most likely require a much faster expansion of energy sources like wind, solar or nuclear power and a sharp decrease in pollution from fossil fuels like oil, coal and natural gas.

The window for keeping warming to 1.5 degrees Celsius, the report said, is "rapidly narrowing."

The new report is part of what's known as the global stocktake. When countries approved the Paris Agreement, they agreed to meet every five years, starting in 2023, to officially assess how the fight against climate change was going and see whether they should ratchet up their efforts.

The report, nearly two years in the making, is meant to serve as the foundation for the next round of United Nations climate negotiations, known as COP28, that will start in late November in Dubai, in the United Arab Emirates. There, countries will discuss how to respond to the global stocktake and what more they can do.

"I urge governments to carefully study the findings of the report and ultimately understand what it means for them and the ambitious action they must take next," said Simon Stiell, the United Nations climate head. "The global stocktake is a critical moment for greater ambition and accelerating action."

The report avoids singling out any individual countries for success or failure, underscoring one of the thorniest dynamics in

LUIS TATO/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Sultan al-Jaber in Nairobi this week. The COP28 chief has said he wants countries to triple renewable energy capacity by 2030.

global climate talks. Everyone agrees that the world as a whole should cut emissions faster, but nations sharply disagree over who, exactly, should do more. Developing countries like India say that wealthy emitters like the United States and Europe should curtail their fossil fuel use more rapidly. U.S. officials, in turn, often point out that China needs to do much more now that it has become the world's largest emitter by far.

The man overseeing this year's negotiations, Sultan al-Jaber, is the head of both the Emirates' biggest renewable energy company and its national oil company, a dual role that has provoked criticism from many environmentalists, who say he is unlikely to be an impartial mediator.

Mr. al-Jaber has said he wants countries to triple renewable energy capacity by 2030. He also wants nations to agree, for the first time, on a long-term goal of phasing out "unabated" fossil fuels. That phrasing would allow for the continued use of oil, coal or gas if companies can capture and bury the emissions those fuels produce — a technology that has struggled to gain traction because of high costs.

The new global stocktake report says those measures, and many others, are "urgently" needed.

"The United Nations' polite prose glosses over what is a truly damning report card for global climate efforts," said Ani Dasgupta, president of the World Resources Institute. "Carbon emissions? Still climbing. Rich countries' finance commitments? Delinquent. Adaptation support? Lagging woefully behind."

One perennial sticking point in global climate talks is that developing nations say they can't afford to shift rapidly away from fossil fuels and adapt to fiercer heat waves and storms without outside help.

Under the Paris deal, wealthy emitters like the United States and Europe vowed to provide $100 billion per year from public and private sources by 2020 for this purpose. But they have yet to fulfill that promise. In 2020, industrialized countries provided $83.3 billion in climate finance. And only a small fraction of that money goes toward adaptation, such as building sea walls or helping farmers cope with drought, which is often the most pressing need.

The report notes that developing countries will ultimately need trillions of dollars to prepare for climate change and calls for wider systemic reforms, such as reforming lending practices at multilateral banks or aiding countries that are saddled with large debt burdens.

"There's been so much focus on holding developed countries accountable for their $100 billion promise, which is absolutely important," said Charlene Watson, a senior research associate at the Overseas Development Institute. "But the reality is we'll need so much more."

Countries have made some progress in adapting to climate threats by, for instance, building flood barriers or installing early-warning systems for tropical cyclones. But those efforts are often "incremental" and unequally distributed, the report warned. Preparing for future threats, like dwindling freshwater supplies or irreversible ecosystem damage, will require "transformational" changes in climate adaptation.

One obstacle, the report noted, is that many adaptation efforts "are failing to keep pace with increasing climate impacts and risks."

"It's a lot harder to track progress on adaptation than it is to track progress on finance or cutting emissions," said Richard Klein of the Stockholm Environment Institute, who added that coming up with measurable global goals for adaptation would be a key challenge for future climate talks.

Some experts faulted the report for being too vague in many of its recommendations. "The opportunity was missed to make clear proposals on what countries could concretely implement, how much financial support should be provided and on what it should be spent," said Niklas Höhne, a German climate scientist and founding partner of NewClimate Institute. "On these issues, the report often remains on the surface."

The big question now is how countries will respond to the global stocktake.

"We've had lots of reports about lack of progress over the years, but what's different about this one is that it isn't a group of scientists or a single U.N. agency saying this," said Rachel Kyte, a veteran climate diplomat and former dean of the Fletcher School at Tufts University. "This is something that all the countries have had a say in."

"This is like sitting down with your doctor and agreeing that your liver could be better, you really need to be in better shape," Ms. Kyte added. "Now are you going to get off the couch and do something about it, or just sit there and ignore it?"

Hong Kong Faces Floods As Storms Batter Coast

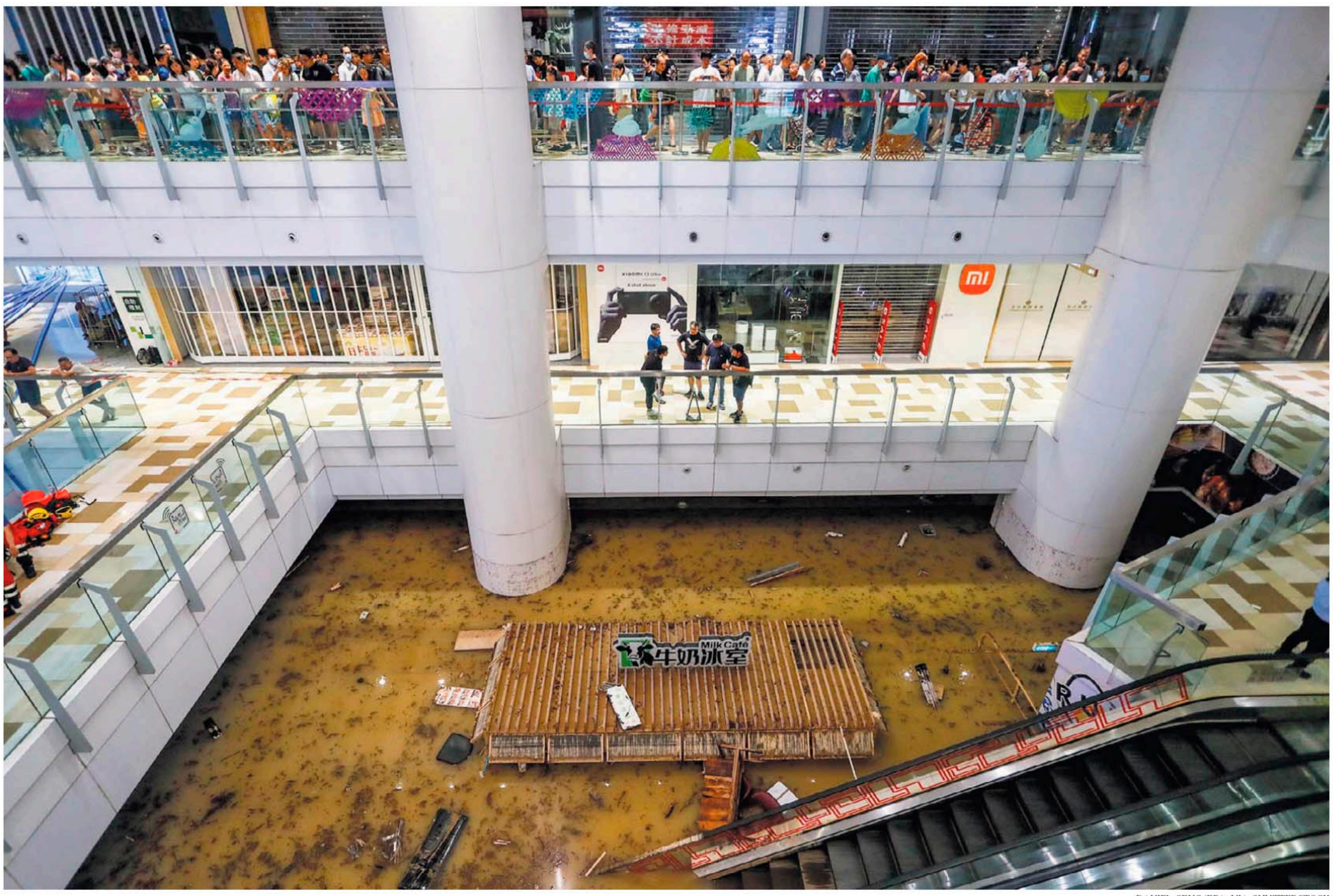
By CHRIS BUCKLEY

Torrential rains have pounded southern China, flooding low-lying homes and roads, choking expressways and prompting officials to suspend classes while the record-breaking storms lingered over the region.

By Friday morning, Shenzhen, a southern Chinese commercial city next to Hong Kong, had endured nearly eight inches of rain overnight, in the most intense downpour since records began in 1952, according to the city's official news service. Hong Kong was hit by about six inches of rainfall in several hours. The Hong Kong Observatory headquarters recorded over six inches in just one hour, the most in that spot since its records began in 1884, according to the South China Morning Post.

In Hong Kong, at least one subway station flooded, and commuters abandoned vehicles caught on roads that had turned into raging rivers. Social media video showed commuters trapped on flooded buses with ankle-deep water sloshing between the seats. Other clips captured subway riders' shock as they pulled into the Wong Tai Sin station to find the platform submerged. The rainstorms were caused by remnants of Typhoon Haikui, which had been grinding along the Chinese coast until striking the densely populated tip of Guangdong Province, home to much of China's manufacturing and commerce.

On Chinese social media and news sites, video footage showed



DANIEL CENG/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

The flooded lower level of a shopping mall in Hong Kong on Friday. The city was hit by about six inches of rainfall in several hours, turning roads into rivers.

torrents of muddy water washing over cars, flooded underground parking areas and homes that had been inundated with water.

An official at a hospital in Shenzhen put out a message saying that 20 patients in its intensive care unit had been trapped in knee-high water. When contacted, a staff member at the hospital said the problem had been quickly solved and declined to give more details or his name.

Rescue services in Shenzhen evacuated or rescued over 3,000 people from flood dangers, the city's authorities said. Officials also announced that water would be released from a nearby dam in the early hours of Friday to relieve pressure on it, and warned residents downstream to stay away from swollen rivers. But in an apparent effort to ease the public's concerns, the city government said the dam release would be limited.

Heavy rains also pounded the coast of Fujian Province in China's southeast, forcing around 300,000 residents to move to safer ground, according to official estimates.

Last month, some residents of Zhuozhou, a city in northern China, protested after much of the area was flooded once officials opened flood gates and spillways in flood control zones. The action was apparently meant to prevent the waters from overwhelming bigger urban areas, including Xiong'an, a new city championed by China's leader, Xi Jinping. On Thursday, Mr. Xi visited Shangzhi, a city in China's northeast that was also struck by the floods last month.

Across the region, some people returned to work, despite transit disruptions.

David Pierson and Olivia Wang contributed reporting.

Rescuers Blast Open Passages to Extract Sick Explorer

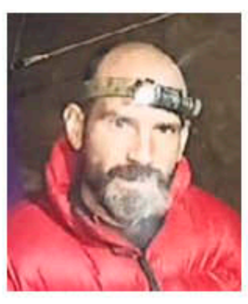
By BEN HUBBARD and SAFAK TIMUR

ISTANBUL — Efforts to extract an American explorer who became ill more than 3,400 feet underground in a cave in southern Turkey expanded on Friday, as international rescue teams installed communications equipment and blasted open narrow areas to allow the passage of a stretcher, officials involved in the rescue said.

The caver, Mark Dickey, 40, was part of an expedition exploring the Morca cave in southern Turkey when he suddenly suffered from abdominal bleeding last week. Unable to communicate from underground, one of his colleagues made the arduous, hours-long climb to the surface and sounded the alarm last Saturday.

In the days since, more than 180 people from eight countries, including Turkey, Hungary, Bulgaria, Ukraine and the United States, have joined the rescue effort, many of them camped out near the cave's opening in a remote part of the Taurus Mountains in Turkey — and up and down the cave itself.

Mr. Dickey's medical condition and the depth and confines of the



Mark Dickey was exploring the Morca cave in Turkey when he began bleeding internally.

cave will make his rescue a highly complicated logistical feat.

"This is one of the most difficult cave rescue operations in the world," Recep Salci, the head of the rescue department for Turkey's national disaster relief organization, said in a phone interview on Friday.

Helicopters have airlifted supplies, including food, water, medicine and blood, to the mouth of the cave, where cavers must carry them down on ropes. To facilitate communication, a phone line has been run down the cave, and rescuers from Croatia are installing a wireless texting system called Cave-Link as a backup.

While teams have reached Mr. Dickey and medics have given him blood transfusions and medicine, other cavers have used explosives to widen narrow passages to facilitate his exit. Doctors are expected to greenlight his evacuation on Friday night or Saturday morning, Mr. Salci said.

But the process will be arduous. While a fit, experienced caver could take 15 hours to reach the surface from Mr. Dickey's location at a camp about 3,400 feet below the surface, the trip on a stretcher could take three or four days, Mr. Salci said. Mr. Dickey will have to be transported by other cavers with safety straps or on a stretcher.

"He cannot make it alone," Mr. Salci said, adding that Mr. Dickey had lost three liters of blood. "He went through a lot."

His rescue could take longer. In 2014, when a cave explorer in Germany was struck in the head by a rock a few hundred feet deeper than where Mr. Dickey is, it took 11 days, 10 hours and 40 minutes for rescuers to get him out.

Mr. Dickey's medical situation appears to have stabilized. In a video filmed inside the cave on Wednesday and later released by Turkey's state-run Anadolu news agency, Mr. Dickey, wearing a red puffy coat and headlamp, said that before medical help arrived, he had felt "very close to the edge."

He thanked the Turkish government for its help and expressed his hope that the rescue effort would serve as an example of international cooperation.

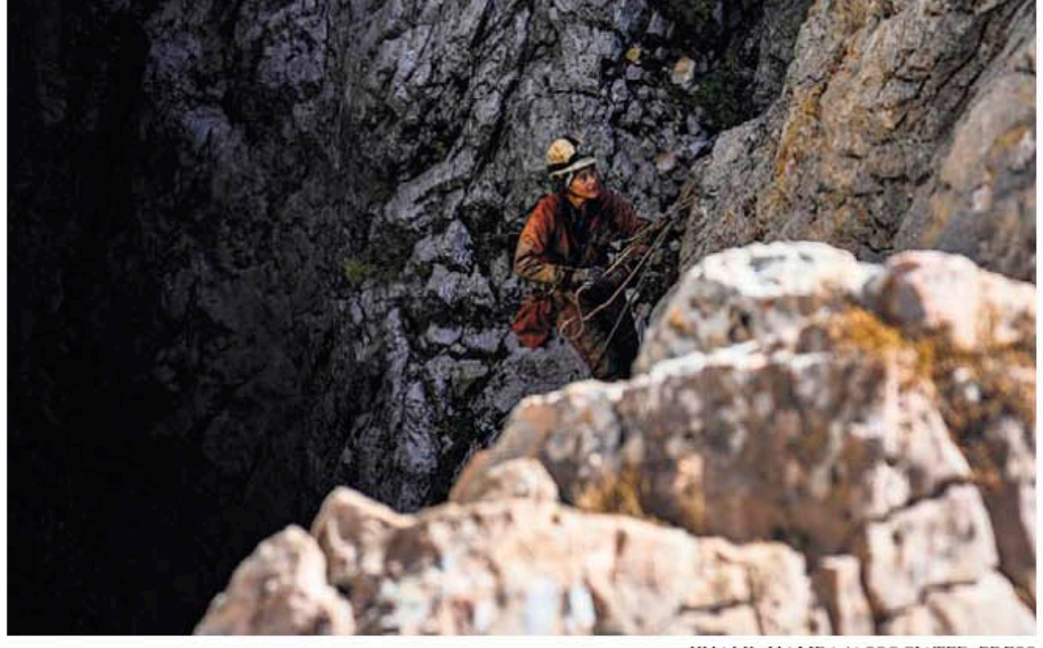
"As you can see, I'm up, I'm alert, I'm talking, but I'm not healed on the inside yet, so I'm going to need a lot of help to get out of here," he said.

Mr. Dickey is the head of the medical committee of the European Cave Rescue Association, which said he was highly experienced and had participated in many such expeditions around the world. He also does cave rescue training for groups in the United States.

The Morca cave is Turkey's third deepest cave, at 4,186 feet.

The outside world was alerted to Mr. Dickey's ordeal on Saturday, when one of his colleagues reached the surface and notified international rescue teams.

Over the next several days, communication was a major challenge, said Yaman Ozakin, a spokesman for a rescue team affiliated with the Speleological Federation of Turkey. It took about 25 hours to get messages between the cave and the surface, because cavers had to carry them all the way up and down.



KHALIL HAMRA/ASSOCIATED PRESS

More than 180 people from eight countries, including Turkey, Ukraine and the United States, have joined the rescue effort.

The phone line was set up on Thursday, the federation said on its website, and the wireless backup was being installed.

The cave has been divided into sections, with different rescue crews assigned to install lines to lift the stretcher in each portion, the federation said. The Turks are near the top, followed by the Hungarians, Poles, Italians and Croatians. The Bulgarians are covering the final stretch to where Mr. Dickey is.

Mr. Ozakin said the size and complexity of the operation meant that all of the teams needed to cooperate closely. But a deep sense of camaraderie is motivating the cavers.

"Caving is a very small world," he said. "The people who do it are the ones who really love it."

A Professor Who Was in the Room Where Foreign Policy Happened

By KATHERINE ROSMAN

It was 20 minutes into the first class of the semester when a professor of foreign policy at Columbia University halted the lecture. "I see the phones, and I see the cameras," she said. "This is not a Taylor Swift concert."

To avoid further disruption, the professor, Keren Yarhi-Milo, offered students a five-minute reprieve. They could raise their phones to photograph the celebrity co-teacher standing onstage, newly minted Prof. Hillary Clinton.

"This," Mrs. Clinton noted as hundreds of cameras focused upon her, "is like the paparazzi," a topic, like foreign policy, that she knows a great deal about.

Across New York City, students and teachers have returned from summer vacation this week. For Mrs. Clinton, 75, this marks her return to school after a much longer lapse. It has been nearly 50 years since her stint as a professor at the University of Arkansas Law School in Fayetteville, Ark.

On Tuesday, the day before her first lecture, Mrs. Clinton, a former secretary of state, U.S. senator and first lady, was setting up her office, which overlooks the campus from the 14th floor of Columbia's International Affairs Building, and studying her binders of outlines and notes.

"I feel good," she said in an interview in a conference room adjacent to her bright office, "but jittery."

Like most enterprises embarked upon by Mrs. Clinton — who has long been a sort of national Rorschach test, beloved by many and loathed by many others — her new gig carries greater meaning than simply a return to her academic roots.

The new job at Columbia may allow Mrs. Clinton to re-emerge publicly as a foreign policy expert, after years of being depicted in the press and the public's imagination as the presidential candidate vanquished by Donald J. Trump.

For any liberal politician, but perhaps most of all for Mrs. Clinton — who years ago might have imagined herself in 2023 rounding out a historic presidency — there may be no softer landing ground than an Ivy League campus in New York City.

The class is offered through Columbia's School of International and Public Affairs, a graduate school where tuition is more than $65,000 per year. "Inside the Situation Room," as the class is called, is part of a broader partnership between Mrs. Clinton and Dr. Yarhi-Milo, the school's dean and a professor of international relations who studies the psychology and mechanics of decision-making.

Together, the women are also establishing Columbia's new Institute of Global Politics, where an inaugural group of fellows includes Marie Yovanovitch, the former U.S. ambassador to Ukraine; Stacey Abrams, the Georgia voting rights activist and former candidate for governor; and Eric Schmidt, the former chief executive and chairman of Google. The fellows will work with students and scholars to mesh research and practical experience in the hopes of solving social and political problems on a global scale.

A spokeswoman for the public affairs school said that while other well-known figures, like Madeleine Albright, had been invited to teach on campus, few if any had been given the same mandate as Mrs. Clinton, who has been made a full professor in addition to her role with the institute. The spokeswoman declined to share details of Mrs. Clinton's compensation or how it compared with that of other faculty members.

MAANSI SRIVASTAVA/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Prof. Hillary Clinton's star-struck students wanted a photo op. Her teaching partner, Prof. Keren Yarhi-Milo, paused Wednesday's lecture to oblige them.

The class, named for the White House command center, is meant to deconstruct how choices with geopolitical consequences are made, through the lens of Dr. Yarhi-Milo's data and Mrs. Clinton's experiences. More than 800 students applied to take the class, submitting essays for consideration; about 370 graduate and undergraduate students were accepted. All were screened by the Secret Service.

Lectures will focus on topics like whether groups make better decisions than individuals and how public opinion influences foreign policy. Among the assigned readings: "How to Stand Up to a Dictator" by Maria Ressa, and sections from Mrs. Clinton's 2014 memoir "Hard Choices," in which she recounted her years as secretary of state during the Obama administration.

Students can expect Mr. Trump to come up only as he pertains to discussions of specific themes in diplomacy or historic instances of foreign policy, such as when he "pulled us out" of the Iran nuclear deal.

"This class," she said, "is not about him."

Indeed, in the hourlong interview before her first class, as Mrs. Clinton discussed leaders from Vladimir Putin to Abraham Lincoln, it felt a million years away from today's coarser public battles.

This year, she said, she is not following the Republican presidential primary closely. With polls pointing to Mr. Trump winning the nomination, she said, "I hope that people of good faith on all sides of the political divide understand what dire consequences there could be from him going back into the White House."

A spokesman for Mr. Trump, Steven Cheung, replied, "Hillary Clinton still can't get over her devastating loss in 2016 and lives a miserable existence because she has to relive that glorious moment every single day."

Mrs. Clinton said she did not bother watching the Republican primary debate on Fox News last month.

Why? "Summertime," she said, and reflected on the season's pursuits that brought her joy: Movies ("'Oppenheimer,'" she said, "was extraordinary"); books (she stayed up until 3 a.m. reading Ann Patchett's "Tom Lake"); and theater. Last Sunday, she took her three grandchildren to "The Lion King" on Broadway. "There is nothing like seeing it with little kids," she said.

Not Yet in the Headlines

Just four days later it would be Hillary Clinton onstage.

On Wednesday afternoon, students filtered into the Altschul Auditorium before the 2 p.m. class. It would be the first of Mrs. Clinton and Dr. Yarhi-Milo's weekly lectures. Students are also expected to attend weekly discussion group meetings with teaching assistants, who will grade their assigned coursework.

Dr. Yarhi-Milo told the students that they would have no shortage of contemporary foreign policy crises to unwind: the war in Ukraine, the spy balloon that flew across the United States and tension in Taiwan, to name a few. To consider how leaders reacted, students would read and discuss game theory, behavioral psychology, time pressure and other elements that shape decisions. "That's as much as I can tell you because I was not in the room," she said.

Mrs. Clinton often was, and she shared several stories, including one that actually did take place in the Situation Room. In early 2009, after she had been nominated by President-elect Barack Obama as secretary of state but not yet confirmed by the Senate, she received word from Condoleezza Rice, secretary of state under President George W. Bush, that she should report to the Situation Room.

Mrs. Clinton and other members of the incoming administration met with Bush officials, who briefed them on what they considered to be credible threats of attacks on the inauguration and Mr. Obama.

This was her first time in the Situation Room in an official capacity. "You're pulled in; oftentimes you don't know there is a crisis until you walk in the Situation Room," she said. "It's not yet in the headlines and sometimes it never is, which is not all bad."

But being involved in high-level policymaking has its consequences, even years later. As Mrs. Clinton lectured students about how to make decisions, a small group protested outside the building, chanting: "Shame on you! Kick Hillary Clinton out!"

Dahoud Andre, an organizer with a group called Komokoda, said he hoped to pressure university officials to drop their relationship with Mrs. Clinton, who was secretary of state in 2010 when an earthquake ravaged Haiti. He believes the violence and political unrest that continues to plague the nation can be traced back to the response of the United States. A spokesman for Columbia declined to comment on the protest.

The President's House

On Jan. 28, 2017, Mrs. Clinton found herself sitting down to dinner at a mansion built for presidents, more than 200 miles north of the White House where Mr. Trump had taken residence eight days before.

It was the President's House at Columbia. She was there for a dinner in her honor hosted by Lee Bollinger, the longtime leader of the university, whom she has known for years.

After the 2016 election, he said, he wanted Columbia to be on her mind as she considered her future. Last year, as he was preparing to step down, everything fell into place. When Mrs. Clinton met with Dr. Yarhi-Milo, Mr. Bollinger said, "everything lit up."

At the end of class on Wednesday, students were invited to ask questions. One asked about gender disparities in foreign policy; another asked about the potential use of artificial intelligence in diplomacy.

Afterward, the students filed out of the auditorium and buzzed around a courtyard.

Akaysha Palmer, who is studying for a master's degree in public administration, said she was glad that the discussion hadn't included Mrs. Clinton's loss to Mr. Trump. "I want to just focus on her role as secretary of state," she said.

A fellow student, Bukuru Anastazie, concurred. "Her name is always attached to a man's name," she said. "It's really refreshing just to have it be about her."

From Hoover to Obama, Presidential Centers Issue Rare Call to Protect Democracy

By NICK CORASANITI

A coalition representing nearly every former president from Herbert Hoover to Barack Obama issued a collective call on Thursday to protect the foundations of American democracy and maintain civility in the nation's politics.

The alliance of presidential centers and foundations for U.S. leaders dating back nearly a century, both Democrats and Republicans, is a historic first. Never before has such a broad coalition of legacy institutions from former administrations joined together on a single issue.

The statement is largely anodyne in its prose and is careful not to include specific examples that could seem to refer to a current or a former elected leader. But some of its wording, and its timing, appear to serve as a subtle rebuke of former President Donald J. Trump, who tried to overturn the last presidential election, continues to deny he lost and is now the Republican front-runner for 2024, even as he faces four criminal indictments.

"Each of us has a role to play and responsibilities to uphold," the statement says. "Our elected officials must lead by example and govern effectively in ways that deliver for the American people. This, in turn, will help to restore trust in public service. The rest of us must engage in civil dialogue; respect democratic institutions and rights; uphold safe, secure and accessible elections; and contribute to local, state or national improvement."

The Eisenhower Foundation was the only organization in the lineage of presidents from Mr. Hoover to Mr. Obama to not sign the statement, and the organization did not detail its reasoning. No centers, libraries or legacy-type organizations with ties to Mr. Trump signed the statement; the former president does not have a foundation or library.

ALPHA STOCK, VIA ALAMY

The idea originated at the George W. Bush Presidential Center in Dallas.

THE FULL LIST OF SIGNATORIES

The Obama Foundation
George W. Bush Presidential Center
Clinton Presidential Center
George & Barbara Bush Foundation
The Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation and Institute
The Carter Center
Gerald R. Ford Presidential Foundation
Richard Nixon Foundation
LBJ Foundation
John F. Kennedy Library Foundation
Truman Library Institute
Roosevelt Institute
The Hoover Presidential Foundation

The idea originated at the George W. Bush Presidential Center earlier this year, according to David J. Kramer, the executive director of the George W. Bush Institute. Leadership at the center drafted the original statement and asked the others to sign on; a few centers offered small edits.

"We just felt that there was a growing need to step back from the day-to-day headlines and, amid all the attention, remind ourselves of who we are, what makes us a great nation and that we're rooted in an idea of freedom and democracy," Mr. Kramer said in an interview.

"It's not about an individual, it's not about one candidate or campaign," Mr. Kramer added. "We just wanted to sort of stay at a higher level, and that's how we were able to get pretty much all the centers united behind us."

But some of the language in the statement could easily be read as warnings about Mr. Trump. The coalition says that "civility and respect in political discourse" are "essential," a contrast for a politician known for demeaning nicknames and occasionally violent messaging.

Other ideals expressed in the statement, such as a sense of global responsibility, also seem targeted more toward the Republican base, voters who are more energized by "America First" messaging — a theme pressed by Mr. Trump and repeated by many of his rivals for the Republican nomination.

"Americans have a strong interest in supporting democratic movements and respect for human rights around the world because free societies elsewhere contribute to our own security and prosperity here at home," the statement reads. "But that interest is undermined when others see our own house in disarray. The world will not wait for us to address our problems, so we must both continue to strive toward a more perfect union and help those abroad looking for U.S. leadership."

Presidential historians note that the joint statement is unusual.

"You see former presidents typically attending events together, such as, for example, after the passing of former President George H.W. Bush," said Meena Bose, a presidential historian and an executive dean at Hofstra University. "But to have the centers unite, this institutionalizes the significance of bipartisan commitment." She added, "It gives both personal and institutional force to the statement."

Mr. Kramer said the idea had been percolating around the Bush Center for a while. However, when he joined the center in January, momentum grew within the organization to put out a bipartisan and nonpartisan message reaffirming what distinguishes American democracy and has helped it function for more than 245 years, he added.

Valerie Jarrett, a former senior adviser to Mr. Obama and the chief executive of the Obama Foundation, pointed to the caustic political discourse dominating modern campaigns, saying a unified front was essential.

"There is a toxicity to the climate right now that is inconsistent with a strong democracy," Ms. Jarrett said in an interview. "Open and fair elections, smooth and orderly transition of power, observance of the rule of law: These are foundational pillars of democracy. And so if you had asked me 10 years ago, Would we be really focusing our effort on ensuring that our democracy is strong? A lot of the activities that we do are designed to strengthen it, but we wouldn't have called it out as an issue that's under attack."

Meredith Sleichter, the executive director of the Eisenhower Foundation, said in a statement that the organization "respectfully declined to sign this statement. It would be the first common statement that the presidential centers and foundations have ever issued as a group, but we have had no collective discussion about it, only an invitation to sign."

Half a Century of Grief: The Orphans of Flight 723

From Page A1

years, she had managed to track down survivors for all but four of the 89 people who had been aboard the plane, and persuade them to gather in person on the 50th anniversary of the crash.

She had chosen for the location of their one and only meeting an obvious and terrible place — Logan Airport, not far from the runway where Flight 723 had burst into flames.

A 'LARGE, LONG FLAME'

The plane was descending through dense clouds surrounding Boston when something seemed to go wrong in the cockpit. "Going like a son of a bitch," said the pilot, John Streil, to his co-pilot, Sidney Burrill, who was trying to line up the jet to approach the runway properly.

Thick fog in Boston had caused many flights to be diverted, so Flight 723, from Burlington, Vt., had made an unscheduled stop in Manchester, N.H., to pick up stranded passengers. Most of them were probably looking at their watches, worried about making connecting flights.

On the instructions of air traffic control, the crew had made a series of turns intended to align the aircraft with a localizer beam, which demarcates the centerline of the runway and acts as a guide for pilots in low visibility.

But they were moving too fast — 237 miles per hour — and they were too high. They overshot the localizer, and then scrambled to correct course, descending too quickly.

The crew had been told that the cloud cover was at 400 feet, and peered into the whiteness, expecting to break through at any moment. But a thick bank of sea fog was moving across the airport. They saw nothing.

"OK, just fly the airplane," the pilot said, according to cockpit voice recordings. Two seconds later, Mr. Streil understood that the plane's flight director was malfunctioning, and he said: "You better go to raw data. I don't trust that thing."

For the first time, his voice betrayed strain. "Let's get back on course if you can," he barked at his co-pilot. The plane was traveling at around 150 m.p.h. when it hit the concrete sea wall that separates the airport from Boston Harbor.

The impact shattered the plane, and pieces of the cabin rocketed forward onto the runway. A construction worker nearby described a "large, long flame" appearing on the runway, rising "as if it were a curtain."

When rescue workers arrived, they found fragments of the plane and its passengers scattered down the runway, covering an area the size of three football fields. There were blue and red seats, some with passengers still strapped in.

The remainder of the aircraft had broken with such force that, a spokesman with the National Transportation Safety Board later said, "you could pick up almost any of the pieces in your hands."

Many things went wrong simultaneously during the landing, Paul Houle, a former U.S. Army accident investigator, concluded in his 2021 book on the disaster. The plane's flight director was faulty; the air traffic controller was distracted; the crew had been misinformed about the weather. Each of these factors, he said, carried equal weight.

But at the time, the public was offered only one explanation: pilot error. Aviation officials "would only say that the pilot, Captain John N. Streil Jr., was flying the jetliner 230 feet too low and 3,500 feet short of the usual touchdown point," The Associated Press reported.

Fishermen told The Boston Globe that the fog had been so thick that they hadn't been able to see their hooks hit the water. "The goddamn fools, flying in this weather," one of them said.

THE BOX

On the day of her father's funeral, Michelle watched the adults leave in their church clothes.

She had shouted at her mother — she thought she was old enough to go — but now the fight had drained out of her, and she sat on a cement floor in an unfinished part of the house, behind a piece of lumber, where they couldn't see her cry.

To comfort her, an aunt promised to bring her a gift: a bottle of Shower to Shower baby powder. But nothing could comfort her.

She came to understand her role in the family tragedy. "You knew something big was going down, and you didn't make any waves," she said. Her mother was "constantly trying to get us to go outside and play — go outside and play."

In all that silence, terrible thoughts snagged in her mind. The night before the crash, she had gotten into an argument with her father, and, "in my 10-year-old, very stubborn and bossy way," muttered to herself: "I wish you would die." This ate at her, this unforgivable thing, but she never told. Whom would she tell?

And somehow it transpired that she did not quite take in her father's death. Years later, she still sometimes thought she spotted him in crowds. She would look for him in Barre, Vt., where he had grown up. Her sister Denise, who was 8 when their father died, felt the same way. "I kept thinking for years that he was coming back," she said.

Her father, Michael Longchamp, was 39 that summer, working as a draftsman at an architectural firm. He was an outdoorsman and a former Air Force tail gunner. By temperament, he was preternaturally even-keeled. At home, he would lie back in an armchair and let his six children crawl over him like puppies.

That summer was a perforated line, separating life with their father from life without him: Tear here.

The extended family closed ranks; their aunt moved her family back to Vermont so she could be near. Michelle remembers her mother, Patricia, as always busy in the years that followed. Chris was 9; Denise was 8; Anthony was 6; Renee was 5; and Joseph was 2. "It wasn't like she could sit and cry over it with nobody around," she said. "She had stuff to do."

In that sense, they coped well. They moved on. "My family did a fabulous job of making sure that we didn't feel any repercussions over it," she said. "You know, we didn't dwell on it." But something was off-kilter, like a bone that had not been set properly. Even today, she wonders: Who would they have been if their father had not died?

After graduating from high school, she got a job at a flower shop and married her high school boyfriend, more or less to get out of the house.

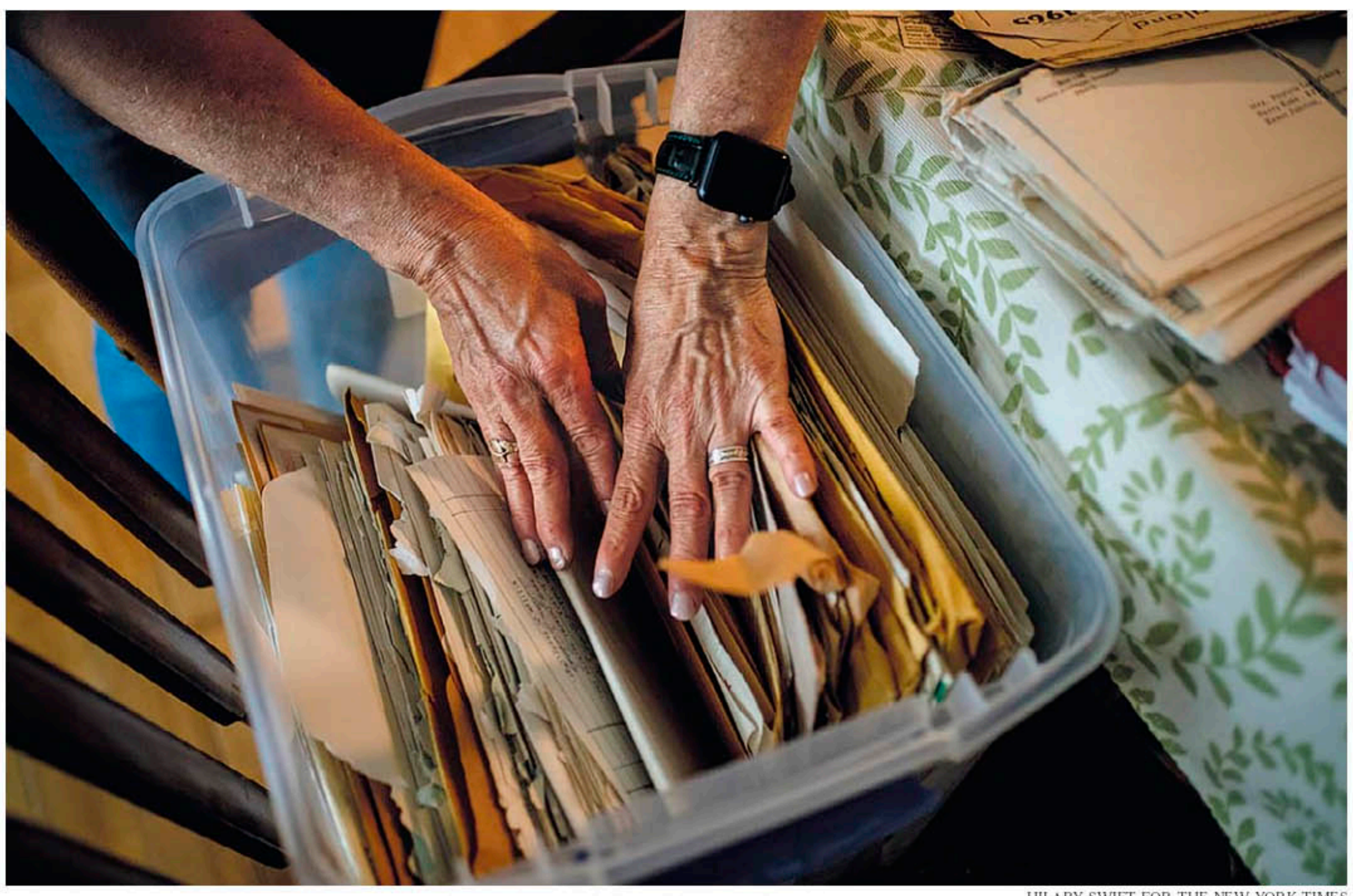
She is sure that would not have happened if her father had been alive. He would have insisted that she go to college. Maybe she would have followed her father into the military. At the least, she would have left Vermont. "I think about that every day," she said.

It was worse for her brothers, though. "You're the man of the house now," one of the grown-ups told Chris.

"I think my mother, to her deathbed, would say that just crushed him," Michelle said.

When Michelle found the box in her mother's basement, she realized how much her mother had carried alone. There were her father's death certificate — "two broken legs and generalized thermal burns" — and her mother's handwritten journals.

"Anthony asked tonight to see a picture of his daddy, because he had forgotten what he looked like," read one of the entries. "I showed everyone a picture and Joseph



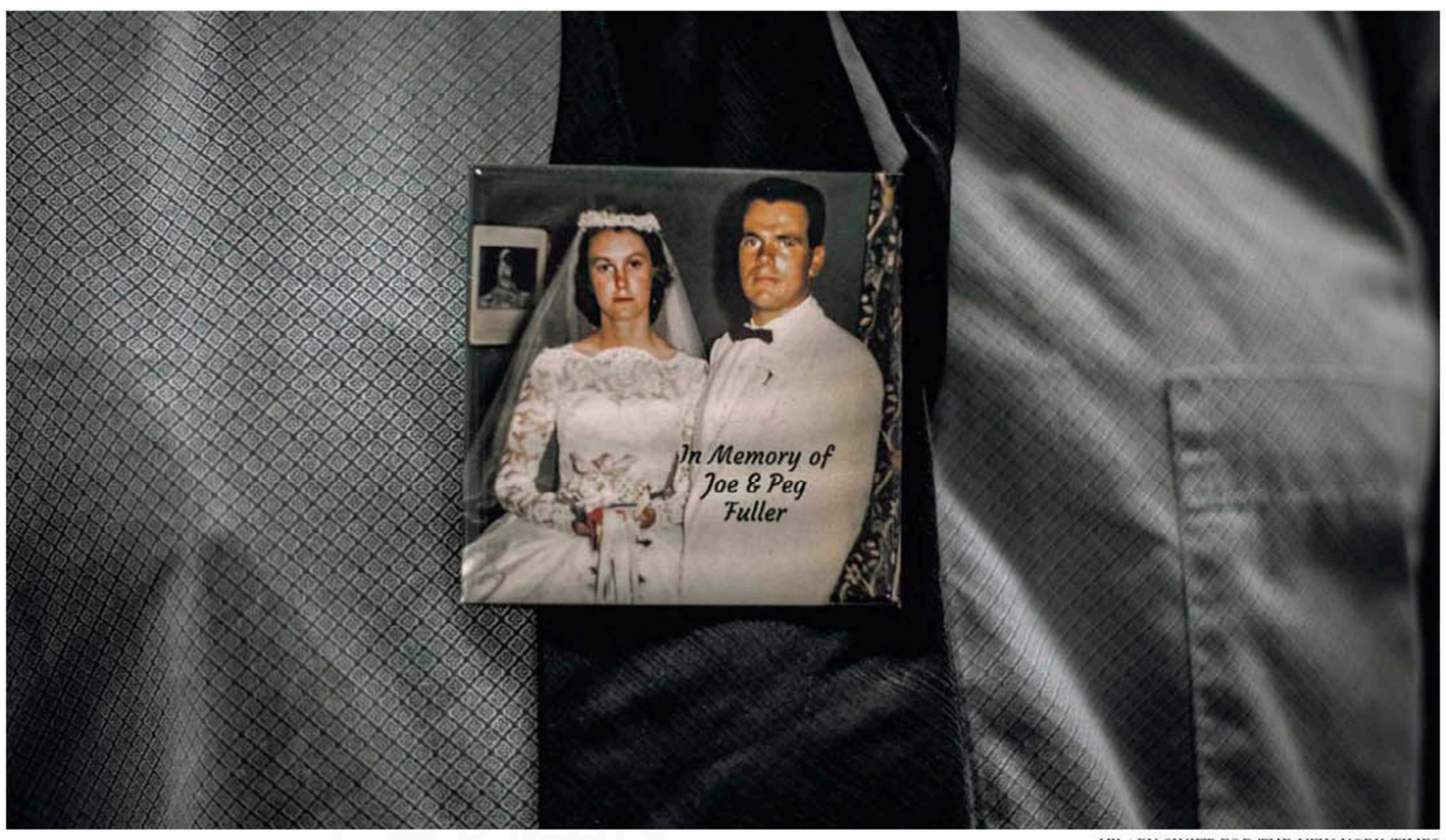
HILARY SWIFT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Michelle Brennen with documents about the crash. She contacted fellow relatives of victims for a gathering.

CHARLES DIXON/THE BOSTON GLOBE, VIA GETTY IMAGES

JILLIAN STREIL

Delta Flight 723 crashed on its approach to Logan International Airport in Boston in 1973, left, leaving 89 people dead. The family of the pilot, John Streil, above, received death threats, and his son struggled with addiction throughout his life. Jim Fuller was 8 when he lost his parents, below, in the crash.



HILARY SWIFT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

laughed right out loud and said, 'That my daddy.' It hurts so much sometimes I don't think I can make it."

"In 48 years, we never knew that side of her, the pain she was going through," Michelle said. She wondered if the box was a form of communication, whether she was meant to look inside.

"My mother had saved that whole box of stuff," she said. "And I'm thinking that maybe, I did it for her, too. Like, maybe in the back of her mind, she thought this was important."

ON THE PHONE

Tracking down the other families felt satisfying. When she finally did get her bachelor's degree, racking up one or two credits each semester while working two jobs, she had majored in psychology. Now she rolled up her sleeves and began collecting data.

There were, as a social scientist might put it, correlations. Many of the passengers' children recalled feeling completely alone in their grief, excluded from the rituals of mourning. Douglas Watts, an IT manager in Portland, Maine, was 8 when his mother, Sandy, died in the crash. "It was basically: She died, we had a service, it was done," he said. His job, he understood, was "to never do anything that brought pain or emotion to anybody." So he did not cry, not once.

Many shared the feeling that the crash had radically changed the circumstances of their lives, setting them on a new path. Albert Holzscheiter, a building contractor in Fredericksburg, Texas, was 3 when his father died in the crash. His mother moved the family to Key West, Fla., as far as she could get from the extended family in Vermont.

"It has totally changed and rewired who I probably would be," he said. "I do not know if I would recognize the person that I would have been."

Even their memories of the day itself lined up with hers. Cornelia Prevost, who was 12 when her father, Count Laszlo Hadik, died in the crash, had written a poem that made Michelle cry when she read it, it was so close to her own recollection.

"A glorious, simple / summer day tripped / into slow motion," it read in part. "Expectant, heavy calm / an approaching thunderhead / and sibilant grownups roboted. / We knew not to be boisterous."

But not everyone understood what she was trying to do. "I'm barely getting people to tell me who they are," she complained a year into the effort. It was too painful, some of them told her. "You know, my family was ripped apart, and I can't even talk about it," she recalled some saying.

Cindy Provost Long, 66, a nurse in Bennington, Vt., felt that way. She was 16 when the plane crashed; her grandmother, two cousins and her 14-year-old brother, Michael, were on board. She remembers a doctor coming "and giving my mother some kind of injection to calm her down." After that, her mother "had, essentially, a nervous breakdown."

She never really got better. Ms. Long used to wait for the mail so she could throw out her brother's Mad magazine, to spare her mother the pang of seeing it. When dementia clouded her mother's memories, she said, it was a blessing.

For Ms. Long, discussing the loss on Facebook was not therapeutic. The scab that had formed in her mind, slowly, over decades, was prized off, and she started having bad dreams again, lying awake at night, "asking what-ifs." Michelle's whole outreach project, she said, was "an intrusive act."

"It's too late, and it's still too personal," she said. And as for getting together at Logan Airport? No, thank you. "I don't understand how this could be, like, a celebration," she said. "Is it the airport asking forgiveness? Is it Delta that is doing this? I don't even know what it is."

Michelle didn't argue when she got that kind of response. But there were a few families she kept going back to, because their story troubled her so deeply: the families of the men in the cockpit. Early in her research, she learned something she found wrenching. As New Englanders mourned the dead of Flight 723, some had turned their anger on the pilots' families.

"They got death threats over the phone. They got death threats in the mail," said Hollie Streil, who married the pilot's son, John Randolph Streil. The experience, she said, "turned his mother into an alcoholic."

Mr. Streil, who was 12 at the time of the crash, began drinking heavily in his teens, and struggled with addiction throughout his life. "He, his family, bore the brunt of everyone's anger," Ms. Streil said. "I just remember my husband just sitting and crying and saying they blamed him."

She and Mr. Streil divorced in 2013 but lived together until he died of a heart attack in 2015. Her feelings about the crash and its aftermath were complicated and dark. But Michelle kept reaching out to her, and Ms. Streil became convinced that her intentions were good.

So she arranged to attend, with three children and two grandchildren.

She was dreading it, she confessed. "This has been buried under the rug for so long. All of a sudden people are going to rip up the pieces," she said.

"I will be glad when it is over," she said. "I don't think I will ever go back into Boston."

IN THE BALLROOM

On the night before the big gathering, Michelle was frazzled and anxious. She had developed a sinus infection, and was so hoarse she could barely speak. Also, she was acutely aware of the things that might go wrong.

Culpability was litigated, slowly and painfully, for nine years after the crash. Passengers' families sued Delta; Delta argued that the air traffic controllers were responsible; the pilots' families sued the manufacturer of the faulty flight director.

But none of it, not the settlements or the court decisions, fully put to rest the question of blame. Two years of research had given Michelle a sense of the anger that some families still harbored, burning as steadily as a pilot light.

Now, at her request, they would all be in the same room, with an open microphone. This was a minefield. Delta had donated money for the buffet lunch. Then there were the Streils, whom she had coaxed into attending. What was she thinking?

It was true, she had shaken things loose. Mr. Holzscheiter, who had driven 30 hours from Texas, felt a wave of sickening panic after he checked into his hotel; he wasn't sure he could go through with it. His wife, Ginger, compared the gathering to the story of Pandora's box from Greek mythology, releasing all manner of phantoms.

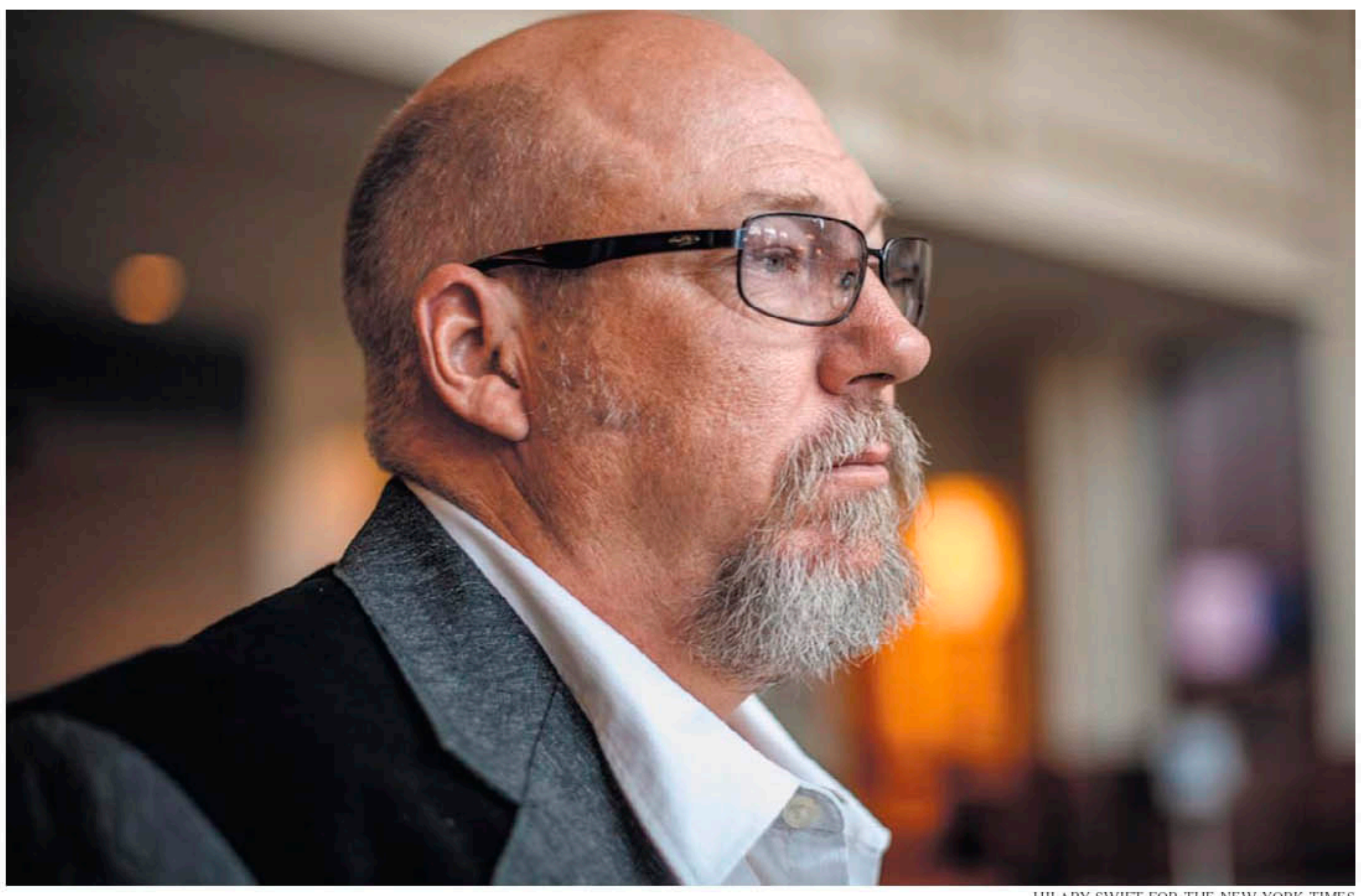
On her way to the ballroom, Liz Axness, who lost her mother in the crash, found herself in an elevator with a group that appeared to be headed to the event. When she asked, "Who was your loved one?" one of them replied — meekly, she thought — that they were from Delta.

"I'm like, What do you think I'm going to do, kick you in the tummy or something?" she said. "You weren't even born."

The night before, Jim Fuller, a sportswriter who lost his mother and father in the crash, had met the Streils. It had been a pleasant interaction; they had participated in a memorial blood drive he had set up.

He had nothing but compassion for the Streils; their family, he said, "had been through more than any of us." He would never assign blame. But a question had gnawed

Continued on Following Page



HILARY SWIFT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

"It has totally changed and rewired who I probably would be," said Albert Holzscheiter, who lost his father.

Half a Century of Grief: The Orphans of Flight 723

PHOTOGRAPHS BY HILARY SWIFT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Bette Gaines-Snyder, left, embraced Jillian Streil, the pilot's granddaughter, this summer near Logan Airport. Ms. Streil struggled to get through her speech.

From Preceding Page

at him since he was 8, and he could not help asking it aloud now.

"Why," he said, "would you try to land a plane if you can't see the runway?"

COMING TO TERMS

One thing that has changed in this country since 1973 is the way we respond to traumatic losses.

When a child dies in a car accident, grief counselors are on hand at schools, to help students process their feelings. Police officers attend debriefings. Bereaved people send out flares of raw grief on social media. This is viewed as healthy. With luck, it gives us closure.

But researchers trying to pin down this phenomenon have been left with doubts. Two years after the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11, Roxane Cohen Silver, a social psychologist at the University of California, Irvine, and a team of researchers looked at a group of people who had been asked to describe their emotions on the day of the attacks.

What they discovered, she said, was that "those who emoted most, wrote the most words, actually did the worst over time." It wasn't that emoting was bad, Dr. Silver said. More likely, those who emoted more were simply in more distress.

Her research has also called into question a much larger assumption: that people who suffer terrible losses eventually come to peace with them. In a 1989 study, she and Rosemary Tait interviewed 45 older men and women — the mean age was 76 — about the worst thing that had ever happened to them. For most, it was the death of a spouse or a close family member.

These were old losses; the average elapsed time was almost 23 years. What the researchers found was that the pain had not gone away. Seventy-one percent said they still experienced mental images or memories of the loss, and 96 percent said they sometimes ruminated about it. Thirty-seven percent said they were still searching for meaning in it.

"There are some for whom resolution never happens," Dr. Silver said. "And there is some acknowledgment that, for some people, they will never resolve their sudden tragic loss, and they will probably function well. It's not that they will not be able to get out of bed. But they will not, quote, get over it."

Still, something seemed to be happening that morning in the lobby of the airport Hilton, as those who had come recognized one another. They embraced each other, squeezed each other's hands. They ran their fingers over a memorial plaque of Vermont granite that had been mounted in the airport's chapel.

It was a comfort. There were so many of them. "My mother was on the plane," a woman in dreadlocks told a man in Bermuda shorts. "My father was on the plane," he responded.

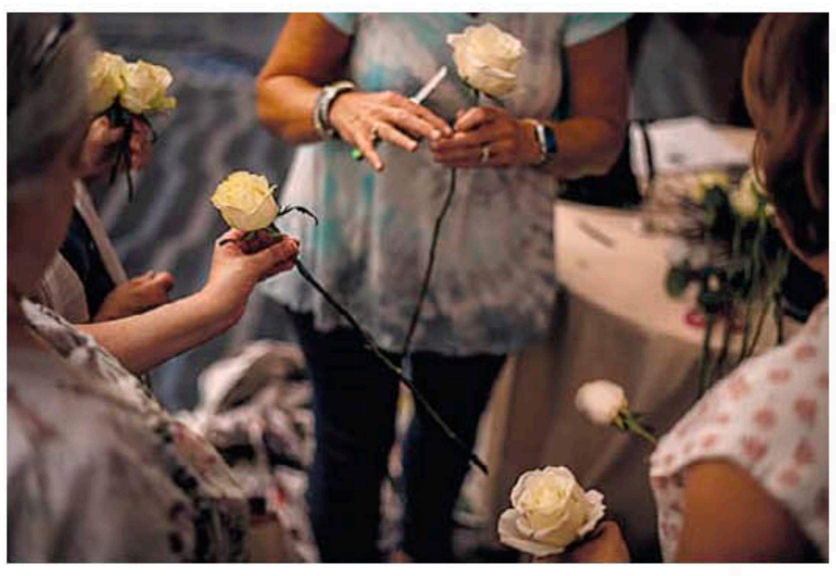
Finally, they took their seats in a ballroom, where photographs of the dead were projected onto a screen. Michelle's sister sang with her barbershop quartet. Someone read a poem by Robert Frost. Michelle said she hoped they could set aside whatever anger and bitterness remained, to honor the dead.

Then Jillian Streil, the pilot's granddaughter, made her way to the microphone. She was 37, a waitress in Manchester, N.H., with blond bangs and cat's-eye glasses.

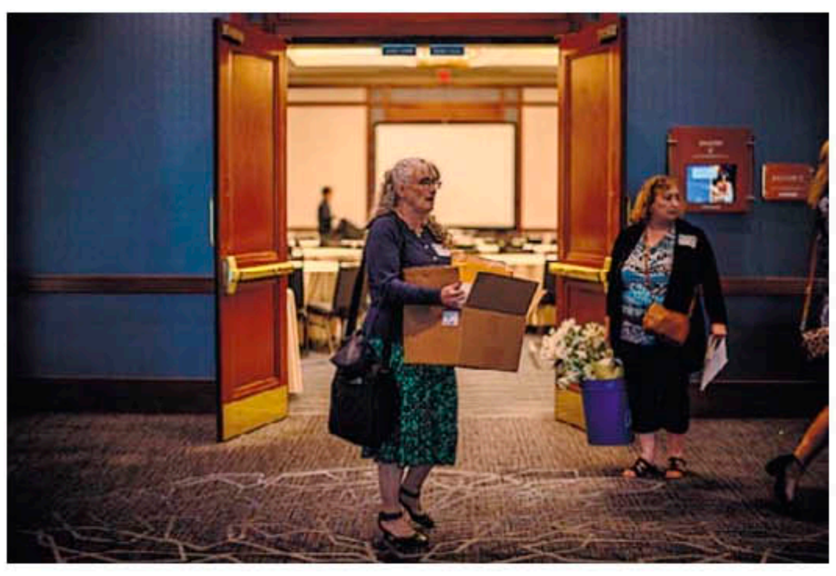
She never met her grandfather, but when she searched online for information about the crash, the phrase that came up was "pilot error." She had read through the passenger manifest many, many times. "I almost feel like it's my responsibility," she said.

Standing before the passengers' siblings and spouses, their children and grandchildren, she held up a piece of paper on which she had written down what she wanted to say.

"He deserved to be remembered for more than this awful tragedy," she said. So she said a few words about him. That he had been a devoted son. That he had loved to fly. That when he died, he had a son who was about to turn 13. That as his wife and son mourned, they absorbed the hatred of those who blamed him.



Setting up the ballroom, above, for the gathering to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the crash. Michelle Brennen, below, organized the event.



"They are no longer with us, and that's why I am here today, to speak for them," she said.

Standing up there, she set aside passages of the speech — things she had been thinking about for 20 years — because she couldn't get through them.

"From the Streil family, thank you all," she said.

She returned to her seat, looking pale.

And then a row of people were lined up to put their arms around the young woman.

The son of Bette Vincent, who died in the crash, hugged her.

The son of Sandy Watts, who died in the crash, hugged her.

The son of Al Holzscheiter, who died in the crash, hugged her.

The sister-in-law of Michael Longchamp, who died in the crash, hugged her.

The sister-in-law of Maria Abrams, who died in the crash, hugged her.

Michelle hugged her. And, for the first time that day, she wept.

CLOSING THE BOX

Then it was done. The families dispersed quickly, stopping by a desk outside to validate their parking tickets, vanishing into the hubbub of the airport.

On the long drive back to Texas, Mr. Holzscheiter had time to consider something that had been proposed at the gathering: that this group reconvene every ten years. "I think the word 'generations' was used," he said.

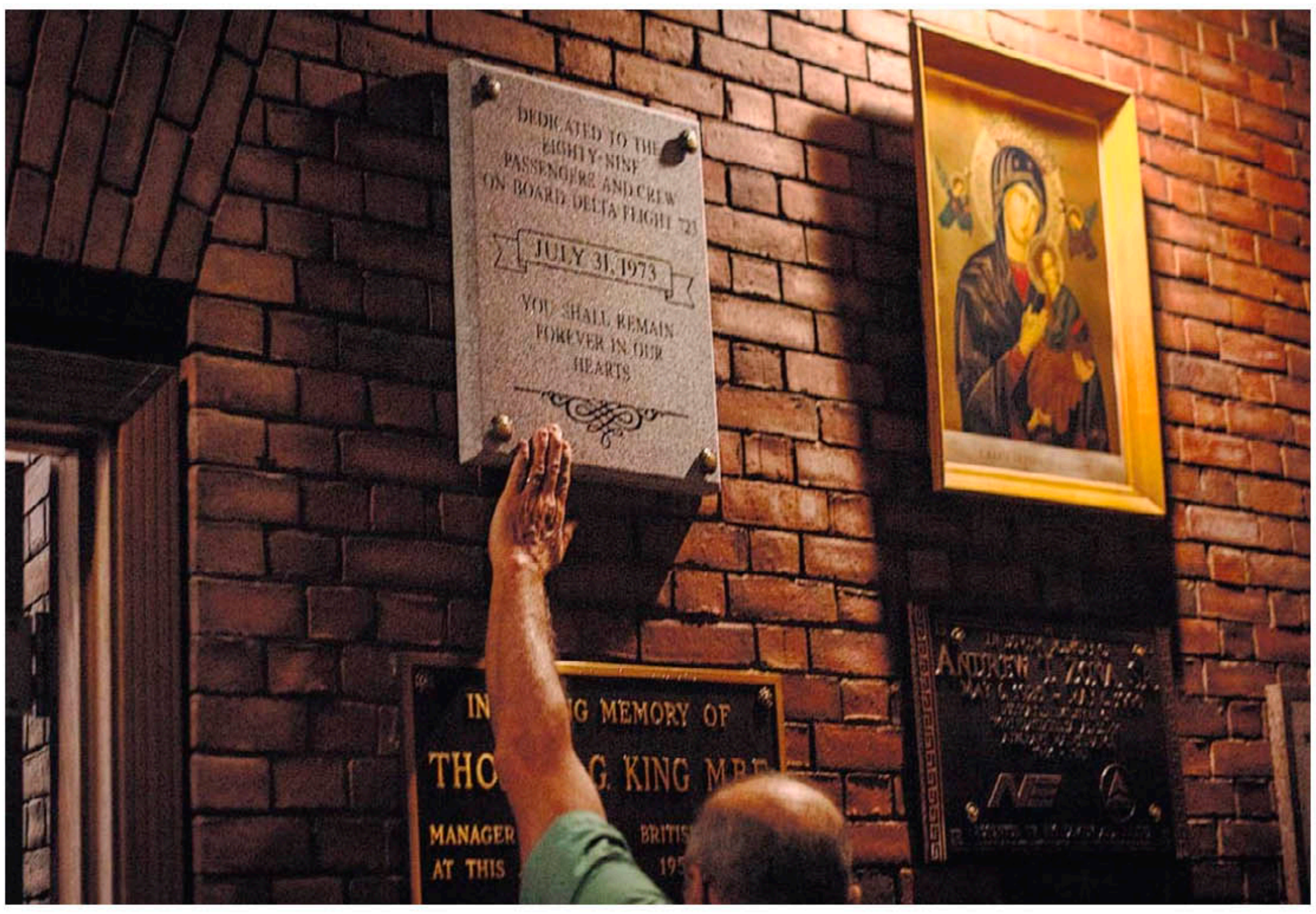
He disagreed; his children didn't have strong feelings about the crash, and he thought that was as it should be. "Daddy's memory will die when I die," he said. "My generation, and my mother's generation, remembers them, and I think it should probably pass on."

Michelle returned to Vermont the same day, loading up her S.U.V. with tote bags and centerpieces. All morning, people had been praising her, thanking her for bringing them together, and this made her uncomfortable; she shook it off reflexively, the way a dog shakes off water.

She was now finished with the memorial, a moment her friends and family had long pondered. What would she do without her project? The next day, she spent some time with her chickens. She went to see "Barbie" with her girlfriends.

But it didn't take long before she started thinking about the crash again. Strangers were reaching out through the Facebook page. She still had questions; she had never known what meetings her father had been headed to in Boston that day, and it bothered her.

So her mother's box of documents stayed in its spot at the dinner table, and before long, she was back at her iPad, looking for those four families she had never been able to reach.



A church service for the victims. The crash, in a thick fog, was among the deadliest in New England's history.

Pressed by Urban Allies, Biden Seeks to Speed Up Moving Migrants to Jobs

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR

President Biden, under pressure to address a surge of migrants who are overwhelming resources in New York and several other American cities, is ramping up efforts to ensure that some of those people can get jobs — a move designed to ease the spiraling political and financial costs of the crisis.

After more than two years in which his administration has struggled to find short-term solutions to an immigration system that has been badly broken for decades, Mr. Biden now faces demands from within his own party to confront the consequences of that migration, hundreds of miles from the border with Mexico.

Under federal law, migrants have to wait about six months after they file their asylum applications to apply for permission to work in the United States. The requirement has vexed cities like New York, where thousands of people have taken refuge in shelters, straining the system.

Some people who come into the United States legally through special programs are able to request work permits immediately, but they do not always do so. The Biden administration is focusing on those people in a new campaign.

In the last week, federal officials have sent more than one million text messages to migrants across the country who are eligible for permits to work in the United States but have not yet applied for them. Officials say the messages, which are sent in English, Spanish, Haitian Creole, Russian and other languages, are a "first-of-its-kind national campaign" by the federal government.

In addition, they have distributed fliers with QR codes to be posted at residential facilities, shelters, legal services clinics and other public places where new arrivals gather. Migrants can scan the codes with their phones to get information about how to download work authorization documents.

Administration officials said they did not have the official number of migrants in the country who are eligible for work permits but have not applied. But they said the government has distributed close to $770 million in grants to localities, including about $140 million to New York, to bolster services for the migrants. The administration has asked Congress for an additional $600 million in supplemental funding for this year, and $800 million for next year.

The efforts are a direct response to angry frustration voiced by Democratic leaders like Kathy Hochul, the governor of New York, and the mayors of some of the country's biggest cities. Eric Adams, the mayor of New York City, declared on Thursday that the cost of caring for more than 100,000 new arrivals could reach $12 billion over three years and "will destroy New York City."

The issue of how to deal with migrants, and who should shoulder the cost of caring for them in the short term, has led to a fierce and public intraparty spat in the midst of Mr. Biden's re-election campaign.

Local officials have said the funding and the steps to allow migrants to work do not go far enough. And Republicans who backed former President Donald J. Trump's tough immigration measures are now seizing on the comments from top Democrats, happily quoting those in New York who say the Biden administration must do more to secure the border.

In response, Mr. Biden and his top aides say Republicans are to blame for refusing to even consider proposals that the president made on his first day in office for a broad overhaul of the nation's immigration laws. Conservative Republicans have blocked bipartisan efforts to modernize the system for decades.

JEENAH MOON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
Migrants waiting to be processed in a line outside the Roosevelt Hotel in New York last month.

The political repercussions of a continued migrant crisis have heightened tensions inside the Biden administration. According to emails reviewed by The New York Times, officials have worried for months about the impact of increased migration on big cities, where many migrants head once they cross the border.

The decision by two Republican governors, Greg Abbott of Texas and Ron DeSantis of Florida, to ship thousands of migrants on buses to New York, the District of Columbia and other locations added to the concern and led the local and state officials — all Democrats — to publicly air their anger over the situation.

One key demand from Ms. Hochul and Mr. Adams in recent weeks has been for the federal government to take actions to allow more of the immigrants to work in the United States. That would allow them to leave public shelters and provide for themselves.

Ms. Hochul made that case to Jeff Zients, the White House chief of staff, during a meeting last week. Afterward, the White House released a statement saying that "the administration will work with New York State and New York City on a month of action to help close the gap between noncitizens who are eligible for work authorization and those who have applied, to meet labor needs in New York."

The issue has been building for months.

When Mr. Biden announced in January a new program that would open the borders to 30,000 migrants each month from Cuba, Haiti, Nicaragua and Venezuela, he hailed it as a humane and orderly way to limit surges in migration and prevent dangerous overcrowding at the border with Mexico.

But his administration did not anticipate that many of those migrants would not immediately apply for work permits despite being eligible, leaving tens of thousands of people seeking housing, medical care and other costly support from the cities they settled in across the United States.

Only last week — under pressure from New York, where many of the migrants were bused by Republican governors — did the administration launch a concerted effort to get those migrants to sign up for permission to work.

Administration officials said Friday that getting more of the recent migrants to seek work authorization was unlikely to solve the entire problem in New York, where local laws require the city government to provide housing for any migrant who needs it, even if it means putting them up in costly hotels.

The so-called right-to-shelter law in New York is a powerful "pull factor," administration officials said, attracting migrants who are otherwise unsure where to go after they get to the United States. Officials at the White House and the Department of Homeland Security say they admire the humanity of the law but

A push to let some immigrants know they can legally go to work.

acknowledge that it adds to the city's burden in a way that the federal government cannot control.

The effort to deal with the needs of migrants after they spread out to cities is also hampered by a lack of information about who they are and where they go, officials said.

People who enter the United States often tell the authorities where they intend to go after leaving the border. But that is often only their first stop, and they do not stay there. D.H.S. officials said they did not know exactly how many of the 110,000 migrants who arrived in New York City in the last year were currently eligible for work permits.

Some might have come into the United States legally, through a program that allows them to stay in the country for up to two years if they are fleeing from Cuba, Haiti, Nicaragua or Venezuela. Others might have used a new Customs and Border Protection app to make appointments at the border, which also gives them the right to work.

But others who found their way to New York City may be what the border authorities call "got-aways," people who slipped by the authorities at the border and made their way to their final destinaton without being caught. Those people would not be eligible for work permits because they entered the United States illegally.

Migrants who came to the United States illegally and have since started the process to claim asylum are required by law to wait 150 days before applying for a work permit. It takes a minimum of another 30 days before they can begin to work, and the current backlog in processing time sometimes takes weeks longer.

Individuals who are close to the 150-day threshold are among those being targeted by the text messages and QR codes, officials said.

Waves of Migrants in North Strain Budgets and Nerves, Lifting G.O.P.

From Page A1

the two parties, which for years have fought in seemingly parallel political universes. Democrats focused on issues like abortion, the preservation of democracy and expansion of health care, while Republicans warned of a migrant "invasion" and railed against "woke" liberal ideology, socialism and expanding L.G.B.T.Q. rights. Endless Republican news conferences at the border and threats to impeach Alejandro Mayorkas, the homeland security secretary, were dismissed as political bluster.

Now, suddenly, some Democrats are sounding remarkably like Republicans.

"Upstate New Yorkers shouldn't be forced to bear responsibility for decades of failed immigration policy, dysfunction and stupidity out of Washington, Albany and places like New York City," said Josh Riley, the Democratic candidate seeking to unseat Representative Marc Molinaro, a Hudson Valley Republican. Mr. Riley added that it was time for Mr. Biden to "to step up and help out."

For Republicans, the response to Mr. Abbott's gambit has gone beyond what they could have hoped for — a spreading of the pain, as millions of migrants stream across the southern border, fleeing violence and poverty, drawn to what they see as a more welcoming administration in Washington and plentiful work.

Representative Ronny Jackson, a conservative Republican from Texas, praised the bus caravans as "bold" and "thinking outside the box."

Even more moderate Republican voices have praised the move.

"The reality is, Abbott was shining a light on existing issues that nobody was talking about," said Will Hurd, a moderate Republican and former House member from a Texas border district now running for president as a fierce critic of Donald J. Trump. "Blue governors and mayors are having to deal with what Republican governors have had to deal with for three years now."

Democrats seem paralyzed by a surge of urban migration that has defied easy answers — and increasingly threatens their political aspirations, from crucial toss-up congressional races in the suburbs of New York City to the race for the White House.

Democrats in the cities continue to castigate their Republican opponents for using migrants as political weapons, with little regard for their health or safety. Last month, a 3-year-old child traveling to Chicago on a Texas-funded bus became ill, was put on an ambulance and later died at a hospital. The party's candidates are quick to point out that Republicans deserve a large share of blame for blocking previous attempts to enact a bipartisan immigration overhaul in Washington.

But many Democrats realize complaints only go so far as they enter an election year, when immigration, border security and appeals to nativism from Mr. Trump and his imitators will roil the electorate far from the Mexican border.

DAVID DEE DELGADO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
Outside a migrant intake center in New York. The city's mayor wants a federal bailout and a clampdown at the southern border.

"The potency of the issue has not abated, and Democrats who think that it has are fooling themselves," said Howard Wolfson, a top Democratic strategist who steers hundreds of millions of dollars in political spending as Michael R. Bloomberg's adviser.

"This is not just going to be a local New York City or Chicago or Boston issue," he added. "This is going to be top of mind for voters all over the country next year, and my strong advice to the White House is they need to get off the sidelines and take action to address this."

The numbers are becoming impossible to ignore. New York City is sheltering 59,000 migrants each night and projects that caring for them could eat up $12 billion in the next few years, threatening the viability of other city services.

Chicago has taken in 13,500 migrants, and spent at least $250 million. Migrants have jammed police stations and O'Hare Airport, and prompted fierce recriminations from Black residents on the South Side who see disparities between investment in their communities and the money spent on migrant care.

In Washington, the city has taken in 10,500 migrants since the first bus arrived outside the home of Vice President Kamala Harris.

And in Massachusetts, the arrival of thousands of migrant families has driven the state's shelter population up by 80 percent in the last year.

"When is enough enough?" asked Representative Henry Cuellar, a conservative Democrat who represents a border district around Laredo, Texas. "You've got to be able to control your borders and be able to handle the number of people that come in. You just can't open up the faucet and let everybody in."

Republicans cheer as more Democrats feel the strain and call on Biden to get involved.

Mr. Cuellar said that even before Mr. Biden's inauguration, he warned Biden transition officials that a crisis was looming with the receding Covid-19 emergency and the end to draconian border rules imposed by the Trump administration. He recalled meeting Mayor Adams at a reception this year and listening to his complaints.

"I didn't tell him who I was," Mr. Cuellar said. "I was just smiling and thinking to myself, 'You guys only get a drop of what we get here at the border.'"

As the appeals grow louder, the White House has slowly ramped up its response.

The Federal Emergency Management Agency in June allocated huge "shelter and service" grants to cities and states unused to such attention — $105 million to New York City, $10.6 million for Chicago, $19 million to Illinois, more than $5 million to Washington. Other programs at the Department of Human Services boosted the total federal money to New York to $140 million, and $45 million for Chicago. Those numbers, however, hardly meet the need: Chicago and Illinois alone have allocated about $200 million on migrant care in the city this year.

After Gov. Kathy Hochul of New York traveled to Washington last month, Biden administration officials said they would ask Congress to allocate more money to reimburse cities and states and pledged to help asylum seekers fill out paperwork to obtain work permits more quickly. They also blamed Congress for refusing to take up a comprehensive immigration plan Mr. Biden first proposed in 2021.

Tom Perez, director of the White House Office of Intergovernmental Affairs, has begun convening weekly phone calls with Mr. Adams and Ms. Hochul, and he spoke with Governor Healey on Thursday.

White House officials said migrants who use a new app issued by Customs and Border Protection can speed up the application process for a work permit and said the administration had spent $1 billion to ease the crisis. An additional $600 million request is awaiting congressional action.

But the officials said ultimately Congress must act to broaden immigration legislation.

Angelo Fernández Hernández, a White House spokesman, dismissed Mr. Abbott's "cruel political stunts" and chided "Republicans in Congress who not only refuse to pass comprehensive immigration reform but are also not providing" the Department of Homeland Security with the resources it needs.

He said the Biden administration was "using the tools it has available to secure the border and build a safe, orderly and humane immigration system while leading the largest expansion of lawful pathways for immigration in decades."

But the White House has quietly said no to more aggressive unilateral actions, such as using executive powers to accelerate work permitting. And Mr. Biden himself appears to want nothing to do with the issue publicly, forgoing the kind of high-profile leadership local officials have been clamoring for.

"When some of these governors and blue cities like New York started calling out, I thought the Biden administration would get its head out of the sand, but not a lot has changed," said Mr. Jackson, the Republican congressman from Texas. "I just think they don't know what to do at this point. They've created a crisis they can't manage."

Some Democrats fear that their standard-bearer for 2024 may be misreading the potency of a volatile issue heading into an election year.

Tom Suozzi, a Democratic former congressman from Long Island mulling a comeback attempt next year, urged Mr. Biden to take a page from one of his predecessors, Bill Clinton. Mr. Suozzi said the president should propose to Republicans a moderate package of reforms that balances border security with "the very real human suffering that exists."

"If the Republicans come to the table with the president and the Democrats, America has a path forward," Mr. Suozzi said. "If the Republicans reject the president's moderate solution, it exposes them as simply playing politics on this issue."

But Democrats are divided on how the administration should respond. Leaders in some of the affected cities want an expansion of humanitarian parole programs and temporary protected status for whole classes of migrants, such as Venezuelans. Those steps would help rush work permits to overcrowded shelters, police stations and airports now housing people who are either forced to sit idle or enter the underground economy.

"This does require a national response, but it has to be a humanitarian response, not an iron hand across the border," said Nubia Willman, who led Chicago's Office of New Americans as the first buses began arriving.

And public displays of division have liberal Democrats worried that more moderate Democratic leaders like Mr. Adams may just play into Republican hands. Former Vice President Mike Pence and House Speaker Kevin McCarthy have both quoted Mr. Adams in recent days in their own appeals to harden the southwestern border.

Representative Delia Ramirez, a Chicago Democrat, said she understood the "frustration" of some Democrats. But, she said, "I just really hope that my colleagues would show why Democrats need to stick together. The blame game doesn't get us anywhere."

She called Mr. Adams's comments "anti-immigrant" and "despicable."

For now, even the fastest way to relieve cities' burdens — requests for federal funds to help reimburse cities and states — has been caught up in politics. Republicans are threatening to stop any funding that would share the cost of the crisis.

"The city and state made a choice," said Mr. Molinaro, the Republican congressman from New York. "There is no willingness by the president and governor to intervene in a real way. I don't see subsidizing the city to be a sanctuary city."

As His State Reels, DeSantis Shrugs Off Climate Threat

By NICHOLAS NEHAMAS and PATRICIA MAZZEI

MARCO BELLO/REUTERS

Gov. Ron DeSantis and his wife, Casey, in Cedar Key, Fla., after a hurricane. He once acknowledged humanity's role in climate change.

During his 2018 run for governor, Ron DeSantis not only pledged to protect Florida's Everglades and waterways, he also acknowledged that humans played a role in exacerbating the climate change that threatened them.

"I think that humans contribute to what goes on around us," Mr. DeSantis told the editorial board of The Florida Times-Union, a Jacksonville newspaper, according to a recording obtained by The New York Times.

"The resiliency and some of the sea-level rise, we have to deal with that," he added, although he pointedly said he was "not Al Gore," the former Democratic vice president who reinvented himself as a climate change activist.

Now running for president five years later, the Florida governor no longer repeats his previous view that humans affect the climate, even as scientists say that the hurricanes battering his state are being intensified by human-caused global warming. Those storms include Hurricane Idalia, which killed three people this month, and last year's catastrophic Hurricane Ian, which killed 150 Floridians.

On the debate stage last month, Mr. DeSantis declined to raise his hand when a moderator asked the Republican candidates if they thought human behavior was causing climate change. His campaign and the governor's office did not respond to requests for comment about his views.

Instead, Mr. DeSantis has seemingly reverted to an old Republican Party line that climate change is happening naturally, without being accelerated by human behavior like the burning of fossil fuels. Decades of scientific research contradicts that position. It is also out of step with what polling shows many Americans believe.

On the 2024 campaign trail, Mr. DeSantis has promised to ramp up domestic oil and gas production and oppose mandates on the introduction of electric vehicles — the kinds of steps that could worsen the sea-level rise that is flooding coastal cities in Florida and around the world. Mr. DeSantis says he is simply being realistic about the country's economic and national security needs.

Asked to describe his climate plan in an interview on Fox Business last month, Mr. DeSantis said, "It's going to be to rip up Joe Biden's Green New Deal." (Mr. Biden's policies do not actually go as far as the so-called Green New Deal, a wide-ranging climate proposal from progressives in Congress.)

As the governor of a traditionally purple state on the front lines of climate change, Mr. DeSantis has been confronted with clear evidence that the environment is changing. But he has largely tried to treat global warming's symptoms — funding local projects to address flooding and storm surge, for instance — rather than take steps to address what climate scientists say are the human-made underlying causes, such as by cutting back on the use of fossil fuels.

Mr. DeSantis has also cast himself as a conservationist in the Teddy Roosevelt mold, embracing a brand of environmentally friendly outdoor-ism long pushed by Republicans in Florida — where swimming, boating, fishing and hunting are popular and profitable — as well as in Western states. That philosophy led him, especially early in his tenure, to attack the state's powerful sugar industry, which contributes to water and air pollution.

"In terms of environment, what I care about is the environment people enjoy," Mr. DeSantis said in a radio interview this year. "I want to conserve Florida, leave it to God better than we found it."

More recently, however, he rejected roughly $350 million in federal funding for energy efficiency initiatives. And in a nod to the nation's culture wars, he gave tax breaks to people who bought gas stoves.

Florida environmentalists describe Mr. DeSantis's mixed record as one that gave them optimism early in his administration but has since left them feeling somewhat disappointed. Mr. DeSantis's narrow but intense focus on Everglades restoration felt "very hopeful out of the gate," said Eve Samples, executive director of Friends of the Everglades, a nonprofit advocacy group. "But the follow-through has been problematic and lacking."

The governor created a toxic-algae task force, she noted, but the group's scientific recommendations had mostly been ignored. And projects to reduce climate change's impact have not taken a comprehensive approach, she said.

"'Resilience' has become a euphemism for installing diesel-powered pumps at the shoreline to keep developed areas dry," she said. "That approach is not going to serve Florida in the long term."

At the first Republican debate last month, Mr. DeSantis reacted angrily when a Fox News moderator asked the candidates onstage to raise their hands if they thought human behavior was causing climate change.

"We're not schoolchildren," Mr. DeSantis said. "Let's have the debate."

But he did not answer the question, instead jumping into an attack on the "corporate media" and President Biden's response to the wildfires in Maui. One of the moderators, Bret Baier, followed up: "Is that a yes? Is that a hand raise?"

Mr. DeSantis stared at the camera without speaking, allowing another candidate, Vivek Ramaswamy, to jump in. "I think it was a hand raise for him," Mr. Ramaswamy said.

"No, no, no," Mr. DeSantis replied. "I didn't raise a hand."

In contrast, nearly half of Americans believe that climate change is "mostly" caused by human activity, according to a poll by Ipsos released in May. Roughly a quarter said climate change was mostly caused by natural patterns. (Smaller percentages said that it was "not really happening" or that they did not know its cause.)

'It's going to be to rip up Joe Biden's Green New Deal.'

GOV. RON DeSANTIS, describing his climate plan and mislabeling President Biden's policies.

There is a clear partisan divide, however. Among Republicans, only 22 percent of people said climate change was mostly caused by human activity, compared with 75 percent of Democrats.

Mr. Biden, visiting Florida after Idalia, seemed to weigh in last weekend. "Nobody intelligent can deny the impact of the climate crisis anymore," he said.

In an interview with Fox News that aired on Wednesday, Mr. DeSantis shot back. "The idea that we've not had powerful storms until recently, that's just not factually true," he said, adding that Democrats were trying to "politicize the weather."

But scientists say that climate change is making hurricanes more powerful, though not more frequent, as warmer ocean waters strengthen and sustain those storms. The proportion of the most severe storms — Categories 4 and 5 — has increased since 1980, when satellite imagery began reliably tracking hurricanes.

When Mr. DeSantis ran for governor in 2018, relations between Florida Republicans and environmentalists had hit a low point. Under Rick Scott, the Republican governor at the time, state officials said they had been warned against even using the phrases "climate change" or "global warming." (Mr. Scott said there was no policy banning those terms.) Toxic algae blooms were choking many of Florida's beautiful bays, canals and rivers.

Mr. DeSantis made improving water quality one of his top campaign issues. Other Republicans, including Representatives Vern Buchanan and Brian J. Mast, whose districts were being harmed by the algae, also campaigned on water quality. The G.O.P. had used the issue to attract independent and crossover Democratic voters at a time when Florida was still a true political battleground.

The message, said Jacob Perry, who ran Mr. Mast's 2016 campaign, was intended to be: "This isn't your father's Republican Party."

Mr. DeSantis appeared to embrace a similar approach.

"The environment was a big reason he won that race," said Stephen Lawson, Mr. DeSantis's 2018 communications director, who added that it was one of the top reasons, if not the leading one, that he was able to appeal to swing voters.

As a candidate in the 2018 Republican primary for governor, he criticized his party's close ties to the sugar industry, which had supported his opponent. He said he backed "resiliency" but did not want to be a climate "alarmist." Once elected, he seemed to relish signing off on billions of dollars to restore state waterways and the Everglades.

During his first year in office, his environmental policies gave Mr. DeSantis the veneer of a center-right governor. He appointed the state's first chief science officer and hired a "chief resilience officer," whose job description included a mandate to prepare the state for the "impacts of climate change, especially sea-level rise."

He signed the first bill passed by the Republican-held Legislature that directly addressed climate change, after what a Republican state senator acknowledged had been a "lost decade" of inaction. This year, Mr. DeSantis vetoed legislation that would have allowed electric utilities to impose fees on property owners who install solar panels.

But Governor DeSantis has made other decisions that let down conservationists. He limited local governments from making stringent environmental regulations. He backed the building of rural highways known as the "roads to nowhere."

On the campaign trail, Mr. DeSantis does not often talk about what his environmental policies would be as president. But he has suggested in broad terms that reducing fossil fuel emissions would be a good thing, while saying that the free market is a more appropriate tool for doing so than government intervention.

At a barbecue in New Hampshire last month, Mr. DeSantis laid out some of his positions on climate change in response to a voter's question, taking the opportunity to criticize Democrats for pushing renewable energy in the United States while China and India continue to rely on oil and gas.

"They've taken this position that you can never burn a fossil fuel," he said. "That is not going to work for our economy."

But in a reflection of how divisive climate change — and science more generally — has become for Republicans, the governor almost did not get to answer the question. The man who asked it was bombarded with boos and catcalls from other audience members until the event's host, former Senator Scott Brown of Massachusetts, asked for civility.

"Science!" one woman in the crowd jeered sarcastically. "Facts!"

Ruth Igielnik contributed reporting. Susan C. Beachy contributed research.

Guard at Jail Is Dismissed In Connection With Escape

*This article is by **Joel Wolfram**, **Ana Ionova** and **Campbell Robertson**.*

The manhunt for an escaped fugitive in the Philadelphia suburbs appeared to escalate on Friday afternoon as attention focused on the area around a sprawling botanical garden where the escapee had been seen twice in recent days.

The number of officers searching for Danelo Cavalcante, who escaped from the Chester County Prison on Aug. 31, grew to nearly 400, with multiple helicopters circling and officials abruptly closing roads in an area near Longwood Gardens. Mr. Cavalcante, who was convicted of stabbing his ex-girlfriend to death, had been photographed by a trail camera at the gardens Wednesday night and then spotted there again around noon on Thursday.

Also on Friday, local officials said the jail had fired a corrections officer who was on duty when Mr. Cavalcante clambered up to a roof to escape.

An 18-year veteran of the jail, the officer, who was not named, had been stationed in a watchtower but failed to see Mr. Cavalcante escape the exercise yard. He was put on administrative leave earlier this week and fired on Thursday, said Michelle Bjork, a spokeswoman for the Chester County Commissioners' Office.

At a news conference on Friday morning in a temporary command post, set up in a firehouse in the town of Unionville, Lt. Col. George Bivens of the Pennsylvania State Police said that he was "optimistic" that the search would wear down Mr. Cavalcante and that authorities would capture him when he inevitably made a mistake. But Colonel Bivens also cautioned that Mr. Cavalcante, who fled from Brazil after allegedly committing a separate murder there in 2017, was "no stranger to hardship" and had been the subject of a manhunt before.

A manhunt near Philadelphia expands to nearly 400 officers.

Brazilian authorities said that in 2017, Mr. Cavalcante shot and killed Valter Júnior Moreira dos Reis in a town square in Figueirópolis, a rural region in the northern part of the country. Mr. Cavalcante worked on a cattle ranch, managing livestock and machinery, said Dayane Moreira dos Reis, the sister of the man who was killed.

Ms. Moreira said that Mr. Cavalcante and her brother had been close friends, but that in summer 2017, Mr. Cavalcante began sending him threatening texts. Early one morning, he was hanging out in the town square with friends, when Mr. Cavalcante arrived, Ms. Moreira said. "I left," she said. "When I got home, I heard the shots."

Mr. Cavalcante shot Mr. Moreira six times, according to the police, then fled. The police said the motive of the crime was an unsettled debt related to the repair of a vehicle. Authorities combed the area but couldn't locate Mr. Cavalcante.

Ms. Moreira said her family was fearful now that Mr. Cavalcante was out of prison. Her mother, in particular, is worried that Mr. Cavalcante might return to Brazil, as prosecutors in Chester County believe he had been trying to do since he was captured in 2021 after killing Deborah Brandão, his ex-girlfriend.

Ms. Brandão's older sister, Silvia, who lives in Brazil, said that Deborah had moved to the United States in 2017, bringing her two small children a few years later. "It was her dream, to give them an education, a better life," she said.

Deborah had met Mr. Cavalcante through mutual friends at a neighborhood barbecue, her sister said in a phone interview on Friday. "He seemed eager to please," she said.

They dated for over a year, but Mr. Cavalcante's personality seemed to change, and he began acting more aggressively, she said. Ms. Brandão decided to end the relationship, her sister said, but Mr. Cavalcante refused. According to testimony at his trial, Mr. Cavalcante became physically abusive.

Now, with Mr. Cavalcante roaming free, Silvia Brandão said her family was worried about their safety. "We fear for our own, we fear for our families," she said, noting she is especially concerned for her other sister, Sarah, who lives in Pennsylvania and is caring for Deborah's children.

"I hope that everything works out," she said, "that all this ends soon and we are left in peace."

Paulo Motoryn contributed reporting.

Florida's Top Court Weighs Upholding Abortion Limit

By PATRICIA MAZZEI

ALICIA DEVINE/TALLAHASSEE DEMOCRAT, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

Solicitor General Henry Whitaker of Florida addressing the state Supreme Court Friday.

The Florida Supreme Court's conservative justices repeatedly questioned on Friday whether the state's privacy rights extend to abortion as they considered whether to uphold a ban on the procedure after 15 weeks of pregnancy — a decision that could overturn decades of legal precedent and trigger a far more restrictive ban.

Such a decision would cement Florida's transformation from a haven for women seeking abortions in the American South to a state with some of the most severe restrictions on the procedure, which were enshrined into law by Republicans who have also shifted the ideological balance of the high court from liberal to conservative.

Should the court affirm the 15-week ban, as expected, that would trigger the more recently approved six-week ban to take effect 30 days later, a dramatic policy shift for a state that until last year allowed abortions up to 24 weeks of pregnancy. Few women know they are pregnant by six weeks, and abortion rights backers say such an early ban amounts to near total prohibition. The justices did not indicate when they would rule.

During a closely watched oral argument in Tallahassee on Friday, a lawyer for Planned Parenthood, the American Civil Liberties Union of Florida and several abortion providers argued that the court should not narrow the scope of the privacy rights that Floridians have relied on for 40 years. The state's solicitor general countered that the court erred in extending privacy rights to abortion, as it first did in 1989.

Several justices appeared sympathetic to the state, questioning whether Florida voters intended the explicit right to privacy written into the State Constitution in 1980 to include abortion. The constitutional provision states: "Every natural person has the right to be let alone and free from governmental intrusion into the person's private life."

"If the original public meaning of that text included abortion, you would expect to see positions from Planned Parenthood and National Right to Life debating each other in 1980," Justice John D. Couriel told the lawyer for the plaintiffs. "And yet we don't really see that."

Whitney Leigh White, the plaintiffs' lawyer, countered that lawmakers and voters understood in 1980 that the privacy clause "unambiguously" extended to decisions that people could make about their own bodies, which she called "decisional privacy."

"Legislators were fully informed and fully on notice that the privacy laws were broad," she said, adding that voters subsequently rejected an amendment in 2012 that would have exempted abortion from constitutional privacy protections.

But Henry Whitaker, the solicitor general, said that lawmakers and voters in 1980 were trying to protect people from government intrusion into their personal data, which he called "informational privacy."

"As a matter of common sense, intrusion — not interference, intrusion — into a person's private life are words that are historically associated with informational privacy," he said.

The privacy argument was also used in the landmark Roe v. Wade decision that enshrined the federal right to abortion in 1973. U.S. Supreme Court justices rejected that argument in their decision to overturn Roe last summer.

Florida's abortion picture has been confusing for more than a year. The 15-week ban, enacted in 2022 shortly before Roe was overturned, was allowed to take effect while the case challenging its constitutionality wound its way through the courts. A trial judge ruled that it violated the state's privacy protections.

Then, in April, Gov. Ron DeSantis, a Republican who is now running for president, and the G.O.P. controlled State Legislature enacted the six-week ban, with the 30-day trigger clause should the 15-week ban be affirmed in court.

A coalition of groups that includes Planned Parenthood and the A.C.L.U. is seeking to put a question on the Florida ballot next year asking voters to amend the State Constitution to effectively include the right to abortion up to around 24 weeks.

Mr. DeSantis has campaigned on reshaping the court by appointing five of its seven justices. The other two justices were also appointed by a governor who was then a Republican, Charlie Crist. One of them, Justice Charles T. Canady, sponsored anti-abortion legislation as a member of Congress and is married to State Representative Jennifer Canady of Lakeland, who co-sponsored the six-week abortion ban this year in the State House.

One of Mr. DeSantis's appointees, Justice Jamie R. Grosshans, did pro bono legal work for pregnancy centers that discourage women from having abortions, The Miami Herald reported in 2020. The Washington Post reported earlier this year that another DeSantis appointee, Chief Justice Carlos G. Muñiz, once affirmed Florida's constitutional abortion protections in a legal article.

On Friday, Chief Justice Muñiz and Justice Grosshans acknowledged that a ruling in the state's favor would affect myriad other precedents unrelated to abortion that have relied on a broad interpretation of privacy rights over the past 30 years.

But Chief Justice Muñiz also said society has debated abortion for decades amid new medical advancements. If lawmakers now decide that abortion should be restricted, he continued, then it may not be the court's role to say that is inappropriate.

"This is a 50-year reflection by our society, by our state," he told Ms. White. "The people's elected representatives believe there is a compelling interest in protecting human life. Why should we as a court not defer to that?"

Former Leader of Proud Boys Says Prosecutors Sought a Link to Trump

By ALAN FEUER

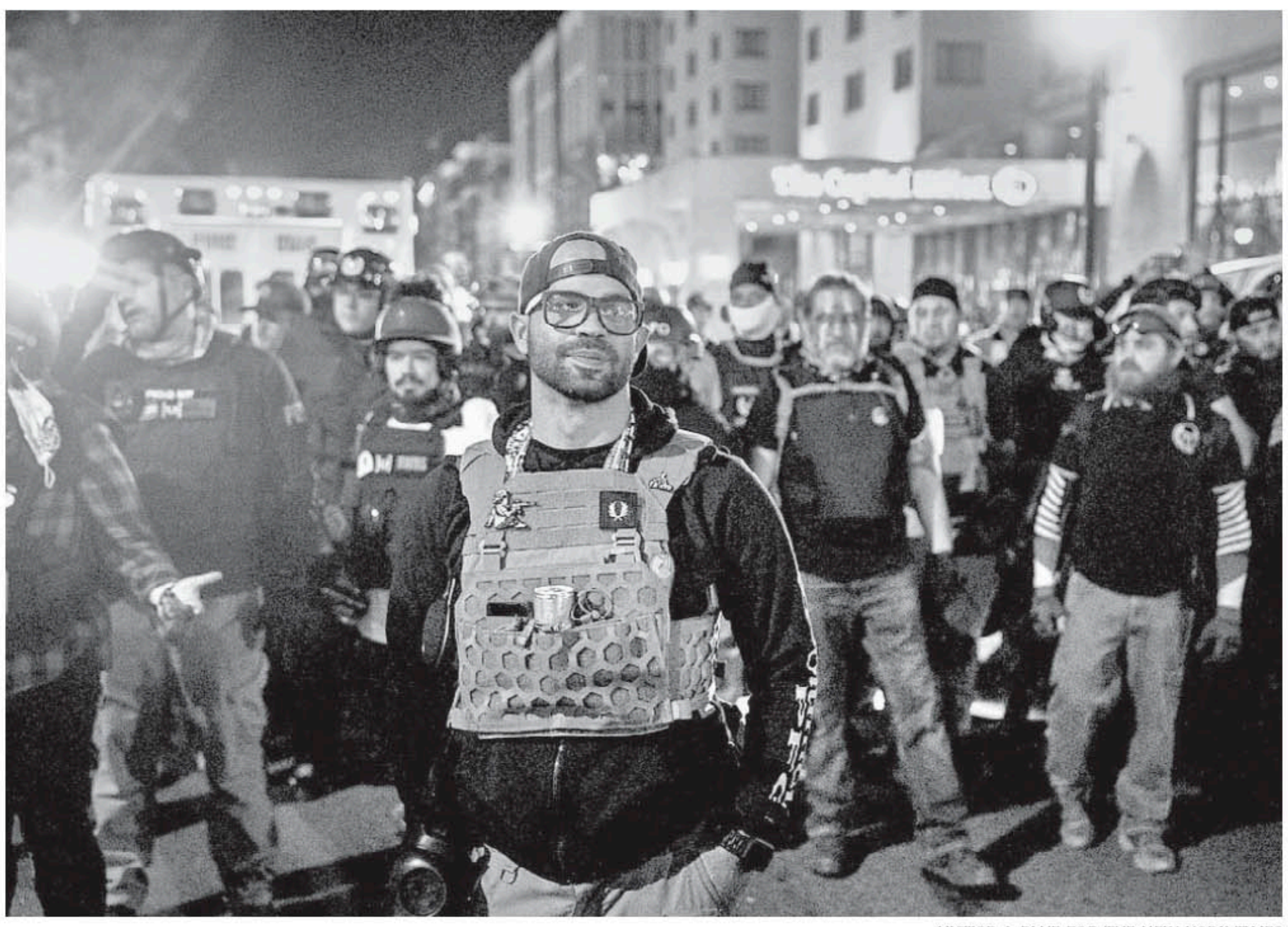
Last October, a few months before he went to trial on sedition charges linked to the attack on the Capitol on Jan. 6, 2021, Enrique Tarrio, the former leader of the Proud Boys, got an invitation: The federal prosecutors in charge of his case asked him and his lawyers to sit down for a meeting.

During that meeting, Mr. Tarrio recounted on Friday in a phone interview from jail, the prosecutors told him that they believed he had communicated in the run-up to the riot with President Donald J. Trump through at least three intermediaries.

The prosecutors, Mr. Tarrio said, offered him leniency if he could corroborate their theory.

Mr. Tarrio said he told them they were wrong. And the discussion with prosecutors — which took place in Miami, Mr. Tarrio's hometown — apparently went nowhere. Mr. Tarrio was later convicted of seditious conspiracy in federal court in Washington and was sentenced on Tuesday to 22 years in prison.

But his account of his interaction with the Justice Department suggests that prosecutors took extraordinary steps in seeking out evidence of ties between Mr. Trump and the Proud Boys, the far-right group that was instrumental to the violence that erupted at the Capitol. To have approached Mr. Tarrio soon before his trial in search of information that could implicate the former president shows the government's interest in connections between Mr. Trump and the extremists at the center of the riot.



VICTOR J. BLUE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Enrique Tarrio in Washington in 2020. "I get that people hate my guts," he said in a jail interview.

It remains unclear what evidence, if any, the government had to support its contention that Mr. Trump had communicated, even indirectly, with Mr. Tarrio in the weeks leading up to the Capitol attack — or if prosecutors were simply fishing for information.

None of the charges that Mr. Trump now faces in two indictments stemming from his efforts to overturn the 2020 election accuse him of encouraging or instigating the physical attack on the Capitol.

Neither a spokeswoman for the U.S. attorney's office in Washington, which prosecuted the Proud Boys case, nor a spokesman for the special counsel, Jack Smith, who is overseeing Mr. Trump's election interference case, responded to messages seeking comment.

Mr. Tarrio offered his account of the meeting during a 30-minute interview from the Washington jail where he is being held pending transfer to a federal prison. His sentence of 22 years for seditious conspiracy and other charges stemming from the Capitol attack was the most severe penalty to have been imposed so far on any of the more than 1,150 people charged in connection with the riot.

During the interview, Mr. Tarrio declined to identify any of the three people prosecutors said they believed he had used as intermediaries to speak with Mr. Trump. But he specifically denied that one of them was Roger J. Stone Jr., an associate who is also a longtime political adviser to Mr.

> ***Enrique Tarrio said he was offered leniency if he could corroborate prosecutors' theory.***

Trump.

Prosecutors have asked questions about Mr. Stone in grand jury interviews with witnesses and have examined ties between the Proud Boys who went to trial on sedition charges and other members of the group who are linked with Mr. Stone.

Before his arrest, Mr. Tarrio, who took control of the Proud Boys in 2018, was a gadfly in right-wing circles and had a wide acquaintance with people in Mr. Trump's inner and outer orbits.

He has been involved in political rallies and other events with Bianca Gracia, the founder of a group called Latinos for Trump, and with Alex Jones, the conspiracy theorist who runs the website Infowars. He has also been photographed with prominent Republicans like Mr. Trump's son Donald Trump Jr. and Senator Ted Cruz of Texas.

During the sedition trial, prosecutors introduced a text message that Mr. Tarrio wrote in November 2020 suggesting that he had coordinated some rallies the Proud Boys were involved in with Mr. Trump's campaign.

"The campaign asked us to not wear colors to these events," Mr. Tarrio wrote, referring to the Proud Boys' traditional black-and-yellow outfits. "Keep identifying colors to a minimum."

The meeting in Miami took place around the same time that prosecutors formally extended plea deals to Mr. Tarrio and his four co-defendants: Joseph Biggs, Ethan Nordean, Zachary Rehl and Dominic Pezzola. Under the government's offer, Mr. Tarrio could have received a lighter sentence of nine to 11½ years in prison, according to a copy of the plea deals released by lawyers in the case this week.

During his interview from jail, Mr. Tarrio declined to comment on the plea offer and whether he regretted not taking it. He also proclaimed that he was innocent of the charges in the case and that his sentence was excessive.

"I get that people hate my guts," he said. "But this is not how the American system of justice is supposed to work."

As he did in court on Tuesday, Mr. Tarrio denounced the violence at the Capitol, saying that he did not fully understand the "gravity" of what happened there on Jan. 6 until well after the attack had ended. He was in Baltimore that day, having been kicked out of Washington two days earlier by a local judge presiding over a separate criminal matter.

As for the meeting with prosecutors, he said it felt to him like a "shakedown" designed to get him to implicate Mr. Trump. And he was insistent that he had no connections to the former president, who would have the power, if reelected, to pardon him or commute his sentence.

"There is absolutely no connection between me and President Trump," Mr. Tarrio said.

Panel Urged Charges for Wide Web of Trump Allies

From Page A1

Fulton County prosecutors convened to help with the investigation, met at an Atlanta courthouse from June to December of last year. It spent much of that time hearing testimony from 75 witnesses on the question of whether Mr. Trump or any of his allies had sought to illegally overturn his 2020 election loss in the state.

Under Georgia law, the panel could not issue indictments itself. In the Trump case, that task fell to a regular grand jury that was seated over the summer. The regular grand jury heard evidence from prosecutors for one day in early August before voting to indict all 19 defendants whom prosecutors had sought to charge.

The special grand jury's mandate was to write a report with recommendations on whether indictments were warranted in the investigation, which was led by Fani T. Willis, the Fulton County district attorney. Ms. Willis asked to convene a special grand jury because such panels have subpoena powers, and she was concerned that some witnesses would not cooperate without being subpoenaed.

Portions of the report, which was written last December, were publicly released in February. But those excerpts did not indicate who had been recommended for indictment, or on what charges. The release of the full nine-page report this week was ordered by Judge Robert C.I. McBurney of Fulton County Superior Court, who had been waiting to do so until charges were filed.

Mr. Epshteyn declined on Friday to comment about the report. Mr. Flynn's lawyer, Jesse Binnall, said in a statement that the report revealed "corruption by a politically motivated prosecutor," though he provided no evidence. Others whom the advisory panel recommended for indictment did not immediately respond to requests for comment.

After the special grand jury recommended indictments of 39 people, the district attorney had to weigh which prosecutions would be the most likely to succeed in court. A potential case against Mr. Graham, for example, would have been hampered by the fact that there were conflicting accounts of telephone calls he made to a top Georgia official.

In a statement on Friday, Mr. Graham said, "It should never be a crime for a federal elected official, particularly the chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, who will have to vote to certify a presidential election, to question and ensure the integrity of that election."

While the report provided little explanation of what drove the panel's recommendations, it held some interesting revelations. The special grand jury voted 13-7, with one abstention, to recommend an indictment of Mr. Graham, a far narrower vote than most of the others that the jurors took.

In many of the panel's votes on whether to recommend indictment — particularly those regarding Mr. Trump — a single juror voted no, highlighting the challenges that Ms. Willis may face in convincing an entire trial jury in a criminal case involving the Republican Party's presidential front-runner. Unlike the special grand jury, a trial jury will hear not just from the prosecutor but also from the defense.

DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

The special grand jury voted 13-7, with one abstention, to recommend indicting Senator Lindsey Graham of South Carolina.

A number of the people named in the special grand jury's report probably avoided being charged by cooperating with Ms. Willis's office. More than half of those who cast bogus Electoral College votes for Mr. Trump in Georgia are known to be cooperating.

The people named in the report are a who's who of Trump allies. Among them is Cleta Mitchell, who played a leading role in the Trump campaign's efforts to reverse the election results in Georgia. Ms. Mitchell took part in Mr. Trump's Jan. 2, 2021, telephone call to Brad Raffensperger, Georgia's secretary of state, during which Mr. Trump pressed Mr. Raffensperger to help him "find" enough votes to reverse the outcome of the election in Georgia.

Jurors recommended a number of charges against Ms. Mitchell, and voted unanimously on four charges related to the Raffensperger call.

The two former Republican senators from Georgia, Ms. Loeffler and Mr. Perdue, were both outspoken allies of Mr. Trump who were defeated by Democratic rivals in runoff elections that took place in January 2021. In November 2020, as the razor-close presidential vote count continued, they issued a joint statement calling for Mr. Raffensperger to step down, accusing him of "mismanagement and lack of transparency."

The special grand jury report recommended charging Mr. Perdue in connection with "the persistent, repeated communications directed to multiple Georgia officials and employees" in the weeks after the election, listing a law prohibiting "false statements and writings" as a relevant statute.

Both former senators are listed in the report as having been involved in "the national effort to overturn the 2020 presidential election."

Ms. Loeffler, like several others named in the report, responded by criticizing the prosecution as politically motivated.

Also listed as playing a role in the national effort are Burt Jones, the current lieutenant governor of Georgia, and Mr. Wood, a lawyer who propagated baseless conspiracy theories about election fraud.

> ***A report also names the former Georgia senators David Perdue and Kelly Loeffler.***

In a brief phone conversation on Friday, Mr. Wood said that he had filed election-related lawsuits in Georgia, but noted that his name did not appear in the indictment.

"I didn't commit any crime," he said.

Mr. Jones, a former state senator, served as one of the bogus pro-Trump electors. Last summer, when Mr. Jones was running for lieutenant governor, Judge McBurney barred Ms. Willis's office from pursuing a case against him because she had been featured at a fund-raiser for his Democratic rival in the race. An investigation of Mr. Jones will be handled by a different prosecutor.

In a statement on Friday, Mr. Jones called the investigation and prosecution a "political circus."

Mr. Epshteyn and Mr. Flynn were recommended for indictment "with respect to the national effort to overturn the 2020 presidential election" in several swing states, though the report offered little further detail. Mr. Epshteyn played a central role in efforts to keep Mr. Trump in power after his election loss. Mr. Flynn, who was pardoned by Mr. Trump after pleading guilty to lying to federal investigators, has embraced and advanced conspiracy theories about the election.

Mr. Graham's own calls to Mr. Raffensperger in the days after the election were one of the earliest signs of the pressure that would be focused on Georgia's then little-known secretary of state. Fulton County prosecutors indicated in court filings last year that they were interested in the calls made by Mr. Graham, a one-time critic of Mr. Trump who became a staunch supporter.

Mr. Raffensperger has said that in the calls, Mr. Graham suggested the rejection of all mail-in votes from Georgia counties with high rates of questionable signatures, a step that would have excluded many more Democratic votes than Republican ones. But the phone calls are not known to have been recorded, and recollections differ about exactly what was said — factors that probably figured in the decision not to charge Mr. Graham.

In a filing seeking Mr. Graham's testimony, prosecutors said that he "questioned Secretary Raffensperger and his staff about reexamining certain absentee ballots cast in Georgia in order to explore the possibility of a more favorable outcome for former President Donald Trump," and "made reference to allegations of widespread voter fraud" during those calls.

A few weeks after the calls, Mr. Trump followed up with a call of his own to Mr. Raffensperger on Jan. 2, 2021, saying that he wanted to "find" roughly 12,000 votes, enough to reverse his loss in Georgia. Mr. Trump's call, which was recorded, is the basis for a number of charges in the 98-page indictment.

Mr. Graham has characterized as "ridiculous" the idea that he had suggested to Mr. Raffensperger that he throw out legally cast votes, and the senator's lawyers have argued that he was carrying out a legitimate investigative function as a member of the Senate Judiciary Committee. In an unsuccessful bid to avoid testifying before the special grand jury last year, Mr. Graham waged a legal battle that made its way to the U.S. Supreme Court.

After the Georgia indictment, Mr. Graham told reporters in South Carolina that he was not cooperating with the Fulton County prosecutors, dismissing the idea as "crazy stuff."

As for Mr. Trump and the allies of his who were charged in the case last month, it is still not clear when and in what court they will face trial.

On Friday, a judge rejected an effort by Mark Meadows, the former White House chief of staff, to move his case to federal court. The defendants Sidney Powell and Kenneth Chesebro have sought and been granted early starting dates for speedy trials in state court.

Judges working in courthouses a few blocks apart in downtown Atlanta are sorting through the flurry of competing motions.

Luke Broadwater contributed reporting.

Court Rejects Meadows's Bid To Put Case in Federal Court

By RICHARD FAUSSET and DANNY HAKIM

ATLANTA — Georgia prosecutors leading the criminal election interference case against former President Donald J. Trump and 18 of his allies notched a victory on Friday when a judge rejected an effort by Mark Meadows, Mr. Trump's former White House chief of staff, to move his case from state court to federal court.

Mr. Meadows would have faced the same state felony charges had his case been heard by a federal judge and jury, including a racketeering charge for his role in what prosecutors have described as a "criminal organization" that sought to overturn Mr. Trump's 2020 election loss in the state. But removal to federal court would have given him key advantages, including a jury pool that was more favorable to Mr. Trump.

Conducting a trial in federal court would have also increased the likelihood that the United States Supreme Court, a third of whose members were nominated by Mr. Trump, would ultimately get involved in the case.

The setback for Mr. Meadows came in the first of many rulings that are expected for the defendants who are seeking to have their cases moved out of state court. Mr. Trump has not filed for a removal to federal court, but he is widely expected to do so.

However, the ruling, by Judge Steve C. Jones of the Northern District of Georgia, does not bode well for any of those efforts. An early trial is already scheduled to start in state court on Oct. 23 for two defendants, Kenneth Chesebro and Sidney Powell, who have invoked their right for a speedy trial under Georgia law.

The question of where the trials will take place is significant in another way as well. Unlike in federal court, the proceedings in state court will be televised, setting the stage for long-running public trials focused on efforts by Mr. Trump and his allies to cling to power.

"There is no federal jurisdiction over the criminal case," Judge Jones, who was nominated by President Barack Obama, wrote in his ruling. "The outcome of this case will be for a Fulton County judge and trier of fact to ultimately decide."

A lawyer for Mr. Meadows did not immediately respond to a request for comment.

The ruling, which Mr. Meadows appealed on Friday night, came after his lawyers took the unexpected step of putting their client on the witness stand to make the case for removal in a hearing on Aug. 28 in Judge Jones's courtroom in downtown Atlanta.

"Meadows had the strongest of the removal cases," said Norman Eisen, who was special counsel to the House Judiciary Committee during Mr. Trump's first impeachment. "If Meadows has failed, then there's little hope for Clark, or for that matter Trump," he added, referring to Jeffrey Clark, a defendant and former Justice Department official who has also filed to move his case to federal court.

In a filing this week, Mr. Trump's lawyer, Steven H. Sadow, notified the presiding Fulton County Superior Court judge, Scott McAfee, that Mr. Trump might seek to move his case; he has until the end of the month to decide.

A key issue for Judge Jones was whether Mr. Meadows's actions, as described in the 98-page indictment, could be considered within the scope of his job duties as White House chief of staff, which would qualify his case for removal under federal law. Removal is a long-standing legal tradition meant to protect federal officials from state-level prosecution that could impede them from conducting federal business; it is rooted in the Supremacy Clause of the U.S. Constitution, which makes federal law "supreme" over contrary state laws.

In the hearing on Mr. Meadows's request, Fulton County prosecutors argued that he had overstepped the bounds of his chief-of-staff duties by acting as a de facto agent of Mr. Trump's re-election campaign. They noted that he had arranged and participated in the now-famous Jan. 2, 2021, call between Mr. Trump and

Mark Meadows had hoped to get a jury pool more favorable to Donald J. Trump.

Brad Raffensperger, the Georgia secretary of state, in which Mr. Trump said he wanted to "find" roughly 12,000 votes, enough to reverse his election loss in the state.

The prosecutors said that with such actions, Mr. Meadows had violated the Hatch Act, which prohibits federal employees from engaging in political activities while they are on the job.

Mr. Meadows's lawyers emphasized that a chief of staff's job often occupies a messy place where policy and politics converge — and that was among the reasons that some observers thought he had the best shot at removal to federal court.

But Judge Jones decided that the actions ascribed to Mr. Meadows were not within the scope of his federal duties.

Mr. Meadows testified at the hearing before Judge Jones that he believed there were outstanding allegations of election fraud that Mr. Trump was concerned about that needed further investigation even after William P. Barr, the attorney general at the time, met with Mr. Meadows and told him that many of the allegations were "bullshit."

In a likely preview to his defense strategy, Mr. Meadows also said he wanted to help Mr. Trump look into election fraud allegations as a way to "hopefully get this off of the president's concern list." That way, he could "land the plane," he said, referring to facilitating a smooth and peaceful transfer of power to an incoming President Biden.

Deep Run at the U.S. Open Brings an Odd Reward: Solitude

From Page A1

move so they can reach their locker.

"At the beginning, it's very hectic," said Andy Murray, who has played in 11 major finals and won three, including the U.S. Open in 2012. "There's a lot of hustle and bustle."

Even before the first day of the main draw, there are 128 women and 128 men competing in the qualifying rounds, while scores more show up to begin practicing. When the first Monday of the main draw finally hits, it's a tennis circus. Each locker room at the U.S. Open has roughly 375 lockers, and in the early days all are in use.

Gradually, some of the qualifiers lose and leave, but their spaces are handed over to newly arriving doubles players. Each contestant is allowed one additional person in the locker room, and past champions get two, and sometimes three as the event proceeds.

"The first few days it's crazy," said Stan Wawrinka, who has reached four major finals and won three, including the 2016 U.S. Open. "The player restaurant is packed, you can't find a table. It's so noisy. I'm always trying to stay focused with my team and because of that, I don't stay on site."

Then the cull begins. After two days, half the singles players have been eliminated. Two days after that, the herd is halved again, and so on. The same happens with the doubles teams and wheelchair players (Juniors have a different locker room, but they and their family members are allowed in the common players areas and restaurants).

Day by day it gets quieter, until finally, after two weeks, there are just two left. Murray, like Evert, is a gregarious sort and enjoys the company of others. Roger Federer was known to be one of the livelier players in the locker room, too.

But the goal is to be the last one alive in this "Squid Game," and sometimes the isolation adds to the pressure. Before his U.S. Open final against Novak Djokovic in 2012, Murray practiced with his team, but they left him alone in the locker room to go eat while he prepared for his match.

"It's a huge locker room with no one else in there," Murray recalled. "I remember feeling like I was incredibly nervous, and I wanted some company. At that time, I was still quite young, and I didn't want to tell them I was nervous. I called my psychologist at the time, and she didn't answer her phone. I felt really nervous just being in there on my own."

It turned out fine, as Murray won his first major title, but the loneliness is something with which the best players must grapple. Those who revel in solitude, like Pete Sampras, thrived on it. In Steve Flink's book, "Pete Sampras: Greatness Revisited," Sampras said, "I loved it on the last week of Wimbledon when nobody was in the locker room. I am a lone wolf."

Tracy Austin went 2-0 in U.S. Open finals, beating Evert in 1978 and Martina Navratilova in 1981, and said there was always cordiality in the locker room before and after matches.

She described the first week of a major tournament as draining, as much from navigating all the people and chaotic scenes, as from playing the matches. To reach the end, and see all her colleagues disappear, was energizing.

"The solitude is great," Austin said. "It means you made it to the end and you don't have to deal with whether you are being social or not. All your energy is focused into your match."

Every player handles it differently. Years ago, when there were fewer "teams" of coaches, agents, physios and advisers, players had more direct interaction, even when they were about to face one another. Evonne Goolagong Cawley sang in locker rooms before finals. Navratilova usually shared her food with Evert.

Such collegiality is unheard-of in hockey, football, soccer and other sports, where teams do not dress in the same locker rooms. Golfers do, but that sport is not defined by one-on-one competition, as tennis is. In the same room, tennis players see when their opponent stretches, where they get taped, what muscles they ask the trainer to focus on.

"You're peripherally aware of your opponent and their moves getting ready for the match," Evert said. "There's definitely stress in the air and a finality of the moment. We are not one of many matches, we are *the* match. You are trying to not think about your opponent, but you wonder if they're nervous, confident, relaxed."

For many players, the end of the first week, when more than 100 players in each draw have been eliminated, marks a turning point. There are still enough people around to have some social interaction, but the throngs have subsided and there is space to think and work.

"The first week is the most stressful," said Stefanos Tsitsipas, who has played in two major singles finals. "My favorite period of the Grand Slam is when the second week kicks in and everything starts to mellow down and become much quieter and more human, in a way."

Eric Butorac, a former tour professional, now works as a player liaison for the United States Tennis Association. He is in and out of the men's locker room every day. He described how attendants hand out locker assignments, with preference to past champions, but they also tend to group countrymen together.

Federer, Djokovic and Rafael Nadal were in so many finals over the last 20 years that eventually the locker room would become their own.

"The Americans have this corner, the Spanish are here, the French are here," Butorac said.

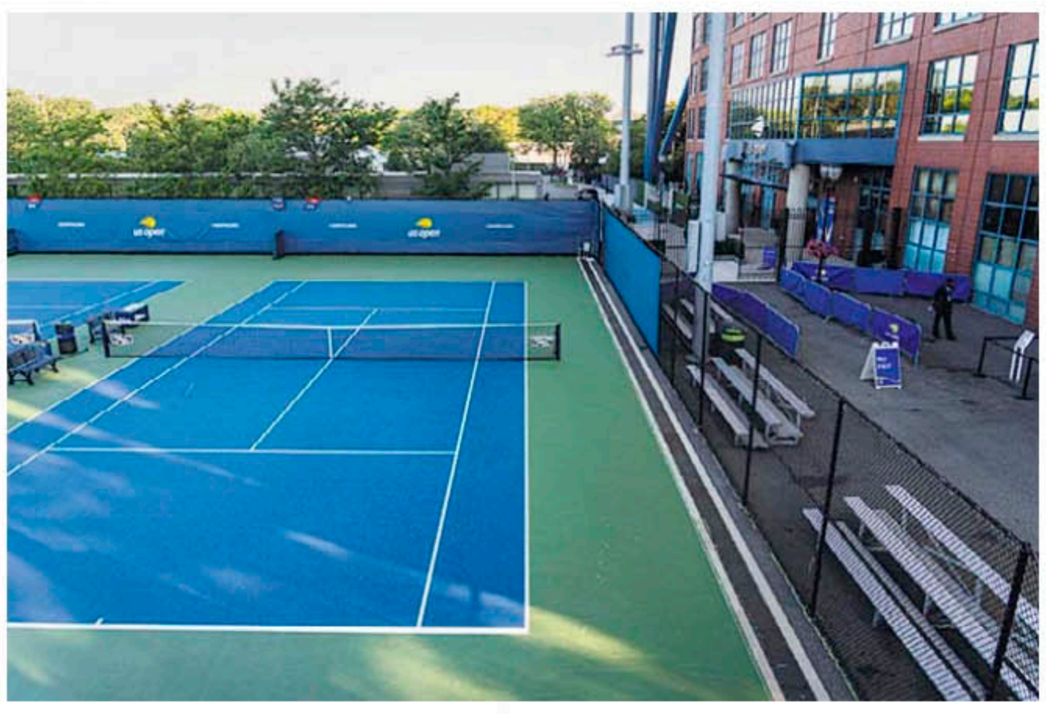
"You get toward the end of a tournament and it's like, Novak is around the corner to the left, Rafa is always in the back right, Roger's is the second from the end over here."

The player restaurant, pulsating with activity in the first week, thins until the finalists and their teams remain. Nadal and Federer used to relax in the restaurant before finals, playing games with members of their teams, and people knew to give them space. Butorac has been there, too. He reached the men's doubles final at the 2014 Australian Open, and also warmed up Federer before his semifinal with Nadal.

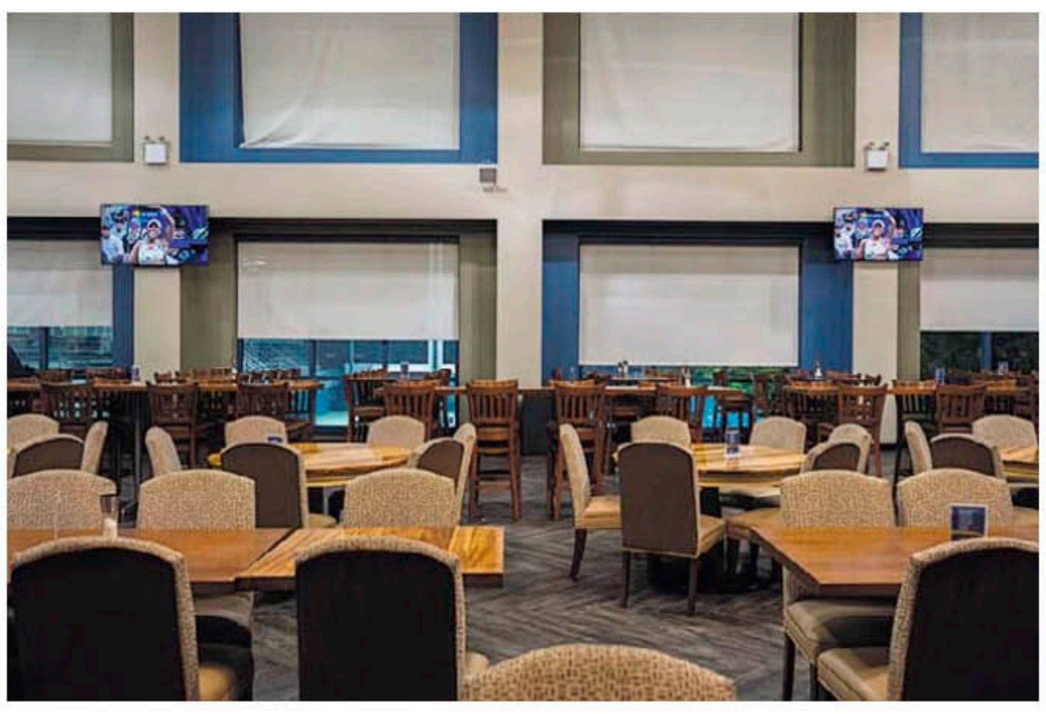
"Going into the restaurant was extremely lonely," he said. "It was me, my one coach, my partner and his one coach. Federer was way down there and there were 30 empty tables between us. It was actually an eerily lonely feeling to be the last one standing. On TV it's a big spectacle, but it has an odd feeling to it."

At the U.S. Open, the player garden turns into a desolate patio. The five practice courts, which were overcrowded at the beginning of play, are mostly empty. During the men's final — the last event of the tournament — the hallways are nearly empty, other than security personnel. The other courts on the grounds are vacant. Even with Ashe packed, it is still the smallest overall attendance of the event, as only a handful of fans watch the big screen from the courtyard.

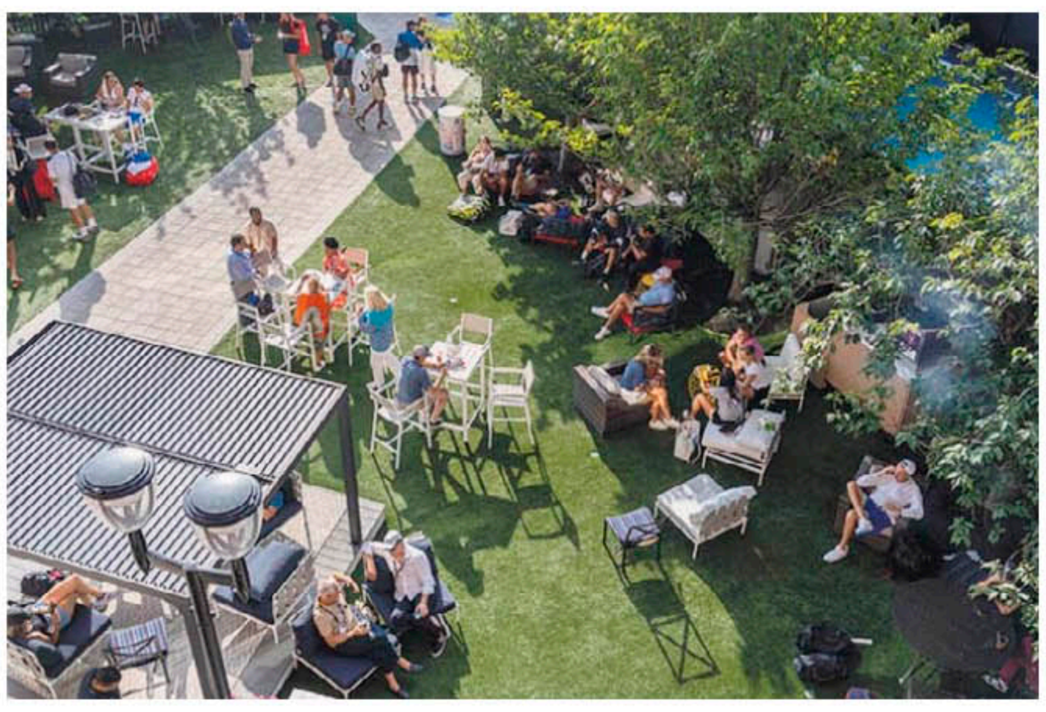
"I love it," said Daniil Medvedev, who won the U.S. Open in 2021 and has played in three other major finals. "That final Sunday is the best. It's only you, his team and your team. I don't feel lonely. If you want to win, you have to be alone at the end."

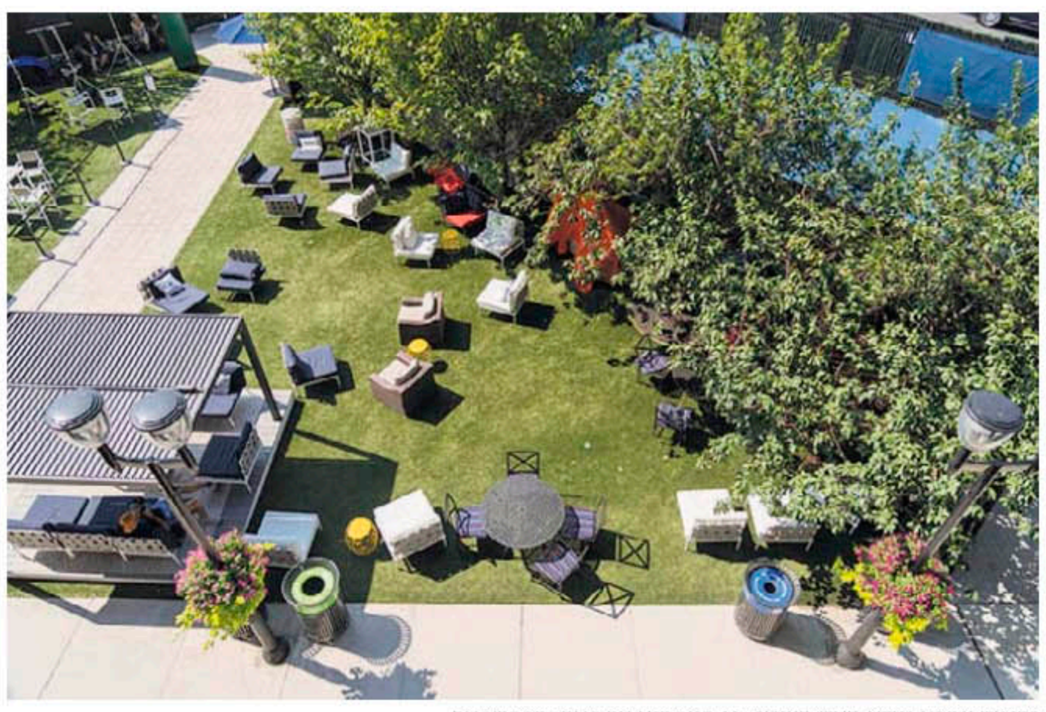


The five practice courts at Flushing Meadows, which were overcrowded at the beginning of play, are mostly empty by the finals.



Getting a table at the players' restaurant inside the Arthur Ashe Stadium building gets easier as the tournament progresses.





PHOTOGRAPHS BY HIROKO MASUIKE/THE NEW YORK TIMES

The player garden outside Arthur Ashe Stadium is a hive of activity as the tournament opens. It eventually becomes a desolate patio.

Casino's Deal Lets It Drop Trump Name At Golf Course

By STEFANOS CHEN and DANA RUBINSTEIN

The sole bidder seeking to build a casino in the Bronx has moved one step closer to realizing its pitch, by buying out the multimillion-dollar lease on a public golf course operated by Donald J. Trump's company.

The first order of business: removing the Trump name.

Bally's Corporation, a large casino and entertainment company, has purchased the license to operate the Trump Golf Links at Ferry Point, a 180-acre golf course that the city had tried, and failed, to wrest from the control of Mr. Trump's company.

The price of the transaction, which required approval from the Parks Department and the New York City comptroller, has not been disclosed, but one person familiar with the deal said the company would pay at least tens of millions of dollars for the remainder of the contract, which is expected to expire in 2035. The deal, which was first reported by The New York Post, is scheduled to close on Tuesday.

The new operator is expected to change the name of the golf course to Bally's Links, according to people familiar with the transfer, removing the giant Trump sign embossed in stone that greets commuters exiting the Whitestone Bridge.

Bally's officials said in February that they would seek to strike out the name of the former president, whose association with the project might sour their chances of winning a license.

The change was welcome news to some elected officials. Former Mayor Bill de Blasio, following the Jan. 6 attack on the Capitol, tried to terminate the Trump Organization's lease of the public golf course, arguing that the city had the right to do so because the former president had engaged in criminal activity. The argument failed in court.

"I am delighted that Trump's name will no longer deface city parkland," Brad Lander, the city comptroller, said in a statement.

A spokeswoman for the Trump Organization did not respond to a request for comment.

The proposal is expected to be one of at least 11 bids for up to three casino licenses in the New York City area.

The state requires that bidders demonstrate control of the property where they would like to build a casino. With the transfer of the golf course lease, Bally's is now closer to meeting that requirement.

A giant sign visible from I-678 near the Whitestone Bridge.

But several other obstacles lie in its path, not least of which is the ferocity of competition for a piece of what is widely regarded as the last major untapped market for full-scale casinos in the United States.

The Bally's bid faces several potential hurdles.

The golf course is close to a lucrative slot-machine parlor in Yonkers that is also bidding for a full-scale casino license. And it is situated on city parkland, which means the state legislature would have to "alienate" it — essentially decertify it as parkland — in order for it to be used for a casino.

The golf course site, at the foot of the Whitestone Bridge connecting the Bronx to Queens, is also poorly served by mass transit.

No casino bid can move forward in the state-mandated approval process without support from local elected officials, and casino bidders have taken pains to ingratiate themselves with their respective communities (with varying levels of success).

Marjorie Velázquez, the local city councilwoman, supports the casino proposal. But neither the state senator nor the state assemblyman representing the area have yet taken a position on the matter.

Nathalia Fernandez, the local state senator, applauded the imminent removal of the Trump name from the golf course, and expressed hope that Bally's would lower greens fees there, which can cost as much as $205 for city residents.

But she remained equivocal on the notion of a casino on the site.

"It's a pretty residential corner of the Bronx and I'm really concerned for the community, and what good it can do and what bad it can do," she said.

The casino bidding process is still in its early days. The New York State Gaming Commission responded to the first of two required rounds of questions from developers in late August, months later than expected. It could be months before developers submit their official applications.

New Jersey Failed Veterans at Covid-Ravaged Nursing Homes, U.S. Says

By TRACEY TULLY

The care given to military veterans at two state-run nursing homes in New Jersey ravaged by the coronavirus was so poor that it violated residents' constitutional rights, according to a U.S. Department of Justice report released Thursday.

The veterans' homes in Edison and Paramus had some of the country's highest coronavirus death rates. In the first five months of the pandemic, at least 146 patients died at the long-term care facilities after getting Covid-19.

The report grew out of a three-year investigation and offered a scathing assessment of a broad range of problems within the two homes, including no-show supervisors, indifference to residents' discomfort, a culture of fear and a lack of regard for employee safety.

It also found that the inadequate care continued even after the pandemic abated, which is likely to embolden critics of New Jersey's Democratic governor, Philip D. Murphy, as he seeks to expand his national profile.

Mr. Murphy's handling of the pandemic, particularly in nursing homes, has long been seen as a political vulnerability.

In a statement Thursday, he said his administration had taken steps to improve the homes, including hiring private managers. He acknowledged that the federal findings were a "deeply disturbing reminder that the treatment received by our heroic veterans is unacceptable and, quite frankly, appalling."

The Justice Department has ordered New Jersey's Department of Military and Veterans Affairs, which runs the facilities, to immediately address the "deficient basic medical care" for its frail and vulnerable patients.

The Justice Department concluded that the existing conditions violated a guarantee of reasonable care and safety for veterans in state-run facilities. It ordered New Jersey to provide better infection control at the homes, which continue to have high mortality rates, as well as improve data collection and staff accountability, among other measures.

Kristen Clarke, an assistant attorney general with the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division, said that the investigation, which began in October 2020, showed that deficient care had "caused these veterans and their families great harm."

The report made clear that the deficiencies could not be blamed entirely on the extraordinary challenges that nursing homes across the country faced as the virus swept through long-term care centers.

"Even by the standards of the pandemic's difficult early days, the facilities were unprepared to keep their residents safe," the report said.

New Jersey, like most states, operates several large nursing homes for veterans. The three facilities, which are reserved for residents who have served in the military and their close relatives, each can care for about 300 people at a time. They currently house roughly 570 patients.

A veterans' home in Vineland, in southern New Jersey, experienced far fewer Covid deaths and was not cited in the Justice Department report.

The Justice Department offered a damning assessment of care during the early days of the pandemic.

At Paramus, a top official responsible for supervising the nursing staff worked remotely for months in 2021 and 2022 — "without participating in regular meetings or otherwise appearing to perform her normal duties," federal investigators found.

At Menlo Park, a worker told investigators that she had watched as a resident with a high fever screamed and ripped out his oxygen tube.

"When she reported the incident to another nurse on the unit," the report said, "the nurse responded that she should mind her own business because the nurse was finishing her shift."

Employees also suffered because of poor management, the report concluded, and faced discipline in the early weeks of the pandemic for wearing masks in hallways or in "any circumstance other than during direct contact with symptomatic residents."

"The residents are being herded from unit to unit," a nurse complained to an administrator in an April 2020 email. "Covid-19 is all over the building on every unit. It's spreading like wildfire."

"Where is the concern for staff?" she added.

The administrator dismissed her claims, writing about her, "She's ridiculous."

At least three employees of the veterans' homes died after contracting the virus, according to state records.

Early last year, the state offered a sober but indirect acknowledgment of its failings when it agreed to pay $53 million to the families of 119 veterans who lived in the two facilities.

Cynthia Petersen's 94-year-old father has lived at the Paramus home since 2019, and has twice contracted Covid.

"There's nurses that are great and they call me and they're wonderful," Ms. Petersen said.

Still, she said, families were recently alerted to a new outbreak of a respiratory virus, and reading Thursday's report left her feeling "a little furious."

"I know that they can't control everything," Ms. Petersen said. "But where is the infection control? And what did they learn?"

Corrections

FRONT PAGE

An article on Monday about torrential rains that left thousands stranded at Burning Man festival misstated the name of the piano bar where the musician known as ELEW performed. It is called the Black Rock Piano Lounge, not Playa Piano Bar.

NATIONAL

An article on Tuesday about the trial of ex-Trump aide Peter Navarro referred incorrectly to interactions between the House committee investigating the Capitol attack and two officials from whom it sought testimony. While Mark Meadows, President Donald J. Trump's final chief of staff, turned over more than 9,000 documents to the panel, his deputy, Dan Scavino, did not provide the committee with records. It is not the case that both men negotiated terms to provide documents. The error was repeated in an article on Friday about Mr. Navarro's conviction.

WEEKEND ARTS

An article on Friday about Charles Busch's memoir misstated the cause of death for Charles Busch's sister Margaret. She died of heart disease, not cancer.

An article on Friday about a retrospective of Ed Ruscha's artwork at the Museum of Modern Art in New York City misstated the year Ed Ruscha was born. It was 1937, not 1935.

MAGAZINE

An article on Page 52 about the gender gap in higher education misspells the name of a video game. It is Valorant, not Valarint.

Errors are corrected during the press run whenever possible, so some errors noted here may not have appeared in all editions.

Contact the Newsroom
To contact the newsroom regarding correction requests, please email corrections@nytimes.com.

4_97542216

A Month After Maui Inferno, the Exact Death Toll Is Still Undetermined

By TIM ARANGO
and LISA L. SCHELL

It has been one month since a wind-whipped wildfire engulfed the historic Hawaiian town of Lahaina, and the authorities are still trying to determine exactly how many people died in the nation's deadliest conflagration in more than a century.

Nearly all of Lahaina has now been searched by teams of rescuers, cadaver dogs and anthropologists trained to detect fragments of human remains, yet the official death toll has stood at 115 people for more than two weeks.

That has meant an agonizing wait for the families of those still missing. On Friday, Gov. Josh Green of Hawaii announced that a list compiled by the F.B.I. had been whittled down to 66, from more than 385 people a week ago.

The sharp decline in the number of missing people was a measure of good news, given that in the early days after the tragedy many expected the death toll to reach more than a thousand. Still, some families who have yet to find their loved ones have begun to accept the grim reality of loss.

Kimberly Buen said that only in the last week did she lose hope that her missing father could have survived the fire, after an F.B.I. agent visited her home in Southern California to take a DNA sample.

"Every phone call I get, I think I'm getting that call, the call to tell me that they've matched my dad's DNA, that they found him deceased," Ms. Buen said. "Before, I was answering every call, 'Oh, did they find him? Did they find him?' And now, I'm in the mode, 'Did we recover him?' "

Ms. Buen's father, Maurice Buen, was a sport fisherman and would have turned 80 on Sept. 2. She said she had spent the last month calling, again and again, the F.B.I., the Red Cross, FEMA, the Maui Police Department, the hospital in Honolulu that received burn victims, and the public housing authority that managed the building where her father lived.

In the chaos of the early days following the fire that raced down the hillsides to the shore of the Pacific Ocean, consuming neighborhoods and all manner of buildings, numerous survivors were stranded without cellphone service. With families desperately searching for loved ones, the list of the missing at one point swelled to more than 2,000.

But the F.B.I. — after collecting various lists from shelters, the Red Cross and the Maui Police Department and cross-referencing them — whittled the number down to 385 people a week ago. After receiving hundreds of updates by phone and email, the F.B.I. has determined that only 66 of those individuals remain unaccounted for.

GO NAKAMURA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

BRYAN ANSELM FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Nearly all of Lahaina, Maui, has been searched by rescue teams. The death toll has stood at 115 people for weeks. At left, people prayed and placed flowers on a hill above Lahaina last month.

A list of the missing has been whittled down to 66 people.

The authorities have said that they have confirmed 115 deaths, either by collecting sets of remains analyzed by DNA or through the discovery of bodies that were mostly intact; 60 of those have been identified, leaving 55 whose names remain unknown.

The last time the death toll changed was on Aug. 21, the day that President Biden visited Lahaina, a span of time that reflects the new phase of the recovery effort, as well as the likelihood that many people's bodies were reduced to unrecoverable ash.

The actual death toll is unlikely to be determined for weeks or months. The lack of new information about the death count at this stage is similar to the aftermath of other disasters like the Camp fire, the 2018 Northern California blaze in which 85 people died, said Stephen Meer, the chief information officer of ANDE, a Colorado-based company whose rapid DNA technology has been used to identify victims in Lahaina.

He said that ANDE's technicians have left Maui, and that determining the final death toll would now largely rely on slow-paced detective work — for instance, interviewing the family and friends of those missing to determine if they were in Lahaina that day and where. The authorities will have to determine whether their investigative results are sufficient to declare those still missing as dead.

"This is a very common thing," Mr. Meer said. "This is exactly what we'd expect to see."

Authorities still field calls from those who believe they have spotted someone on the list of missing people. The tips, while confusing, hearten family members who post continuously on social media and comb through Facebook posts.

"We're still hoping to find them alive even though there's a lot of news saying there's no more chance," said Manuel Ceralde, 52, whose mother-in-law and sister-in-law were last seen at their rented house on Mela Street in Lahaina when the fires broke out.

Mr. Ceralde said Revelina Baybayan Tomboc, 82, and her stepdaughter Bibiana Tomboc Lutriana, 59, immigrated from the Philippines about three decades ago. After a stint in California, they settled on Maui and had lived in Lahaina for about seven years. Ms. Tomboc had been a housekeeper but was retired, and Ms. Lutriana worked as a clerk at a retail store.

The two lived only a couple blocks from Mr. Ceralde and his wife, Claire, whose home burned. The couple now watch over their two children in tiny rooms at separate hotels, as they wait for news.

"It's really hard," Mr. Ceralde said. "Our beautiful house became ashes. And with them still missing, everything is lost for us."

Lahaina today is a place of harsh contrasts, the burned out areas resembling the ash-filled ruins of Pompeii, down the road from a lush, manicured resort. One moment, the air is still acrid and smoky; the next, filled with the sweet scent of plumeria. Everywhere are makeshift memorials, with signs reading "Lahaina Strong" or "Pets are Family Members, too."

Lahaina residents who survived the fires have been thrust into uncertainty, with nearly 7,000 people now living in hotels or Airbnb units after staying at shelters or in the homes of friends and family soon after the fire.

"Everyone's going to struggle and suffer in this period, but we have to house people, we have to get them through to the next phase," Governor Green said on Wednesday. The government's priority is getting people out of temporary housing and, with public assistance, into long-term rentals, he said.

The heart of Lahaina is still closed to the public — only searchers and workers from various government agencies have been allowed in. But Darryl Oliveira, the interim administrator with the Maui Emergency Management Agency, said the county had moved closer toward allowing people to return and inspect their properties before the Army Corps of Engineers begins bulldozing and clearing debris.

Mr. Oliveira said the county wanted to let people who were "looking for closure" go back so they could see for themselves what happened, and so they could look for personal items that may be lying amid the dust and debris.

Eric Lee, 40, a guide with Maui Off-Road Adventures, lost his home in the fire, as did his mother, who lived on Front Street, along the ocean where some people died in their cars while stuck in evacuation traffic. For 48 hours after the fire, Mr. Lee had no idea where his mother was. "I was freaking out for two days and finally found her," he said on Thursday, his voice shaking with emotion.

Mr. Lee is living in a vacation rental, with the help of the Red Cross, and is making a point to keep enjoying what he loves about Maui, like the ocean.

"I have hope because I love this place," he said. "I love Lahaina. It is everything that I know. It's the people that I see in this place, smiling and together."

In the weeks after the fire, Maui felt as if it were in a state of suspended animation, with traumatized residents seeking out information and trying to comprehend the scale of the loss. Last Friday, the process of communal grieving began, with sunrise ceremonies held in locations across Maui, Molokai, the island of Hawaii, Oahu and Kauai.

Pastor John Crewe went to the vigil because he wanted to be in the presence of those praying for Maui. His church, Lahaina United Methodist Church, had burned, but he said everyone in his congregation had made it out safely.

"What encourages me is seeing everybody together," Mr. Crewe said. "There is a theme of gratitude and connectedness. And to rebuild after this, we're going to need that."

Corina Knoll contributed reporting.

To Track Down Wealthiest Tax Evaders, I.R.S. Is Turning to Artificial Intelligence

From Page A1

said in a briefing with reporters. "The I.R.S. has simply not had enough resources or staffing to address partnerships; in a real sense, we've been overwhelmed in this area for years."

The fight over I.R.S. funding is continuing, as the House and the Senate try to agree on spending legislation to avert a possible government shutdown at the end of the month. Senate Democrats want to keep the base budget of the I.R.S. steady while holding on to some of the Inflation Reduction Act money that lawmakers had agreed to rescind as part of the debt limit deal. House Republicans are pushing for far deeper cuts that would eat into the tax agency's enforcement budget.

Senator Ron Wyden of Oregon, the Democratic chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, said the new enforcement tools that the I.R.S. is deploying show the importance of the funding.

"This news stands in stark contrast to the approach taken by House Republicans, who want to allow wealthy tax cheats to continue business as usual, paying little to no tax and asking middle-class taxpayers to foot the bill," Mr. Wyden said.

Mr. Werfel explained that artificial intelligence is helping the I.R.S. identify patterns and trends, giving the agency greater confidence that it can find where larger partnerships are shielding income. That is leading to the kinds of major audits that the I.R.S. might not have previously tackled.

The agency said it would open examinations into 75 of the nation's largest partnerships, which were identified with the help of artificial intelligence, by the end of the month. The partnerships all have more than $10 billion in assets and will receive audit notices in the coming weeks.

More audits are likely to come. In October, the I.R.S. will send 500 notifications, known as compliance alerts, to other large partnerships indicating that the agency has found discrepancies in their balance sheets. These partnerships could also face audits if they cannot explain the differences in their balances from the end of one year to the start of the next.

The focus on partnerships is part of a broader push by the I.R.S. to scrutinize wealthier taxpayers in 2024. Mr. Werfel said that the agency is dedicating dozens of revenue officers to pursue 1,600 millionaires who the I.R.S. believes owe at least $250,000 in unpaid taxes.

In the coming year, the I.R.S. said it plans to increase scrutiny of digital assets as a vehicle for tax evasion and investigate how high-income taxpayers are using foreign bank accounts to avoid disclosing their financial information.

The use of artificial intelligence at the I.R.S. opened it up to fresh criticism from those who complain that it cannot be trusted with taxpayer data.

Grover Norquist, founder and president of Americans for Tax Reform, said that the I.R.S. has a history of blaming its problems with enforcing the tax code on its algorithms. He argued that employing artificial intelligence was just another way for the I.R.S. to separate itself from future accusations of political bias or inequitable enforcement practices.

A tax crackdown's targets include hedge funds and law firms.

"This is one more way for them to put some distance in their decision-making," Mr. Norquist said. "They can say: 'Oh, we're not auditing people we don't like. This is science.' "

The I.R.S. has said little so far about how it intends to use artificial intelligence to crack down on tax evasion. Mr. Werfel suggested that the technology would be deployed to identify "compliance threats" that have been difficult to spot and that it would help the agency reduce unnecessary audits.

John Koskinen, a former I.R.S. commissioner during the Obama and Trump administrations, noted that the tax returns of big partnerships are among the most complex that the agency analyzes. He said that algorithms the I.R.S. already uses allow it to spot problems in tax returns, but that the ability to train computers to sift through thousands of pages of tax returns that have red flags would make it possible for the agency to more effectively determine whom to audit.

"Up until now, those partnerships have been impenetrable," Mr. Koskinen said.

A Government Accountability Office report that was published in July found that the I.R.S. audit rate for larger partnerships had dropped below 1 percent since 2007 and that 80 percent of the audits that the agency did conduct did not find any noncompliance problems.

"As part of its audit selection process, I.R.S. uses statistical models to help review partnership returns for potential noncompliance, but the models were developed without using representative samples of returns and with untested assumptions," the G.A.O. said.

The I.R.S. has also lacked the ability to compare the tax information of large partnerships with other partnerships to look for additional warning signs, but artificial intelligence is starting to make that possible and is expected to improve over time.

As part of its recruiting strategy, the I.R.S. has been looking to hire data scientists to develop new in-house artificial intelligence tools. Mr. Werfel said that the agency is also collaborating with outside experts and contractors on the project.

Last month, the I.R.S. said it had increased its full-time staff to nearly 90,000, a level not seen in more than a decade.

Mr. Werfel warned that additional cuts to its annual budgets would require him to redirect money meant for upgrading the agency so that it can carry out basic tasks, and that ultimately taxpayers would bear the brunt of it.

"My big responsibility here is to make the case to Congress and to the American people that if you fund our base budget, it will enable us to both keep the lights on and modernize — and modernizing the I.R.S. is good for everybody," he said.

Pelosi, Defying Speculation in Party, Plans to Run for Re-election in 2024

By ANNIE KARNI

WASHINGTON — Representative Nancy Pelosi of California, who served for decades as the Democratic Party's House leader and was the first woman to become speaker, announced on Friday that she would seek re-election in 2024, ending months of speculation about her political future.

"In light of the values of San Francisco, which we've always been proud to promote, I've made the decision to seek re-election," Ms. Pelosi said on Friday at an event in her hometown focused on organized labor.

Since she stepped down from leadership last year after Democrats lost the House majority, many observers expected that Ms. Pelosi, who at 83 is the seventh-oldest member of the chamber, was headed for retirement. Some had been surprised to see her stay in Congress at all, a rare move for a former speaker, and speculated that she would not finish her term.

But colleagues said she has relished her lower profile as a rank-and-file member with emeritus status. In that new role, Ms. Pelosi offers advice on an as-needed basis to her party's new leadership team, often sits in the back rows of the House floor gabbing with her closest friends and focuses her attention on San Francisco while quietly remaining a fund-raising powerhouse for Democrats.

"I'm emancipated now!" an ebullient Ms. Pelosi said in a recent interview with The Los Angeles Times.

Even after Ms. Pelosi made clear she would stay on after giving up her leadership post, some Democrats assumed that she would leave Congress early, potentially clearing the way for her daughter Christine Pelosi, a party activist and a Democratic National Committee executive committee member, to run for her seat.

Ms. Pelosi's decision to carry on with her 36-year career in the House comes at a moment of renewed scrutiny on the advanced age and health status of the country's leading public servants — including President Biden, 80, and Senator Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, 81, the longtime Republican leader — and questions about whether they have overstayed their time in power. Ms. Pelosi managed to somewhat insulate herself from those critiques when she decided last year to step down from leadership, essentially giving herself a demotion.

KENNY HOLSTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Nancy Pelosi was first elected to Congress in 1987.

Senator Dianne Feinstein, another California Democrat who at 90 is the oldest member of Congress, plans to retire after her term ends next year. But she is facing calls to step down sooner amid a precipitous health decline that has raised questions about her ability to do her job. Ms. Pelosi recently attributed those calls to sexism.

A major factor in Ms. Pelosi's decision to not only finish her term but to seek another, according to people close to her, was the health of her husband, Paul Pelosi, who was brutally beaten with a hammer at the couple's home in San Francisco last year by an assailant who later said he had been targeting the speaker. With Mr. Pelosi on a solid path to recovery, allies said, Ms. Pelosi did not feel it was necessary to step away from a job she loved.

"Nancy Pelosi has always been untraditional," said Stacy Kerr, who for a decade served as a senior aide to Ms. Pelosi. "She's done things her own way her whole career, driven by the needs of her district and the country. We shouldn't expect that she won't continue to be a trailblazer now."

Still, Ms. Pelosi, famous for keeping her own counsel, had not shared her plans with anyone. People close to her said on Friday that she had ultimately decided to run again because she also viewed it as an urgent priority to re-elect Mr. Biden and help Representative Hakeem Jeffries of New York, the minority leader, become the next House speaker.

Ms. Pelosi is still her party's most prolific fund-raiser in Congress, a political skill that could be determinative in helping Democrats win back the House majority next year.

The National Republican Congressional Committee quickly tried to frame her decision to stay on as a sign of Mr. Jeffries's weakness.

"The babysitter agreed to stay late!" the group's press secretary, Will Reinert, said in a statement, noting that House Democrats still relied on Ms. Pelosi as the main engine of their fund-raising machine.

In an online post, Ms. Pelosi characterized her decision to run again as one driven by local and global concerns.

"Now, more than ever, our city needs us to advance San Francisco values and further our recovery," Ms. Pelosi said in announcing her plans. "Our country needs America to show the world that our flag is still there, with liberty and justice for all."

RELIGIOUS SERVICES

ROMAN CATHOLIC

AVE MARIA CHAPEL
Catholic Traditionalist Center
210 MAPLE AVE (off Post Ave)
WESTBURY, L.I., N.Y. 11590
TEL: (516) 333-6470
AT THE CHURCH'S DARKEST HOUR THE CATHOLIC TRADITIONALIST MOVEMENT LED BY FATHER GOMMAR A. DE PAUW, J.C.D. KEPT THE FLAME OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC FAITH BURNING AND THE VALID SACRIFICE OF THE MASS ALIVE IN THIS AVE MARIA CHAPEL
FOR INFORMATION AND VIDEO INTERNET MASS
www.latinmass-ctm.org
Facebook: Ave Maria-Chapel

N

Opinion

The New York Times

Republicans in Wyoming See Clearly What's Happening

Stephanie Muravchik and Jon A. Shields

Dr. Muravchik and Dr. Shields are professors of government at Claremont McKenna College and the authors of a forthcoming book about the Wyoming G.O.P.

THE nationalization of American politics is a troubling bipartisan trend. As the political scientist Daniel Hopkins shows in "The Increasingly United States," the signs have been there for decades: State party platforms have become more alike, Americans are less likely to know their governors, and money for congressional races increasingly comes from outside donors. Like our commercial strips, which are crowded with the same restaurant chains and box stores, our local parties look increasingly alike, offering the same product from San Francisco to Jacksonville, Fla.

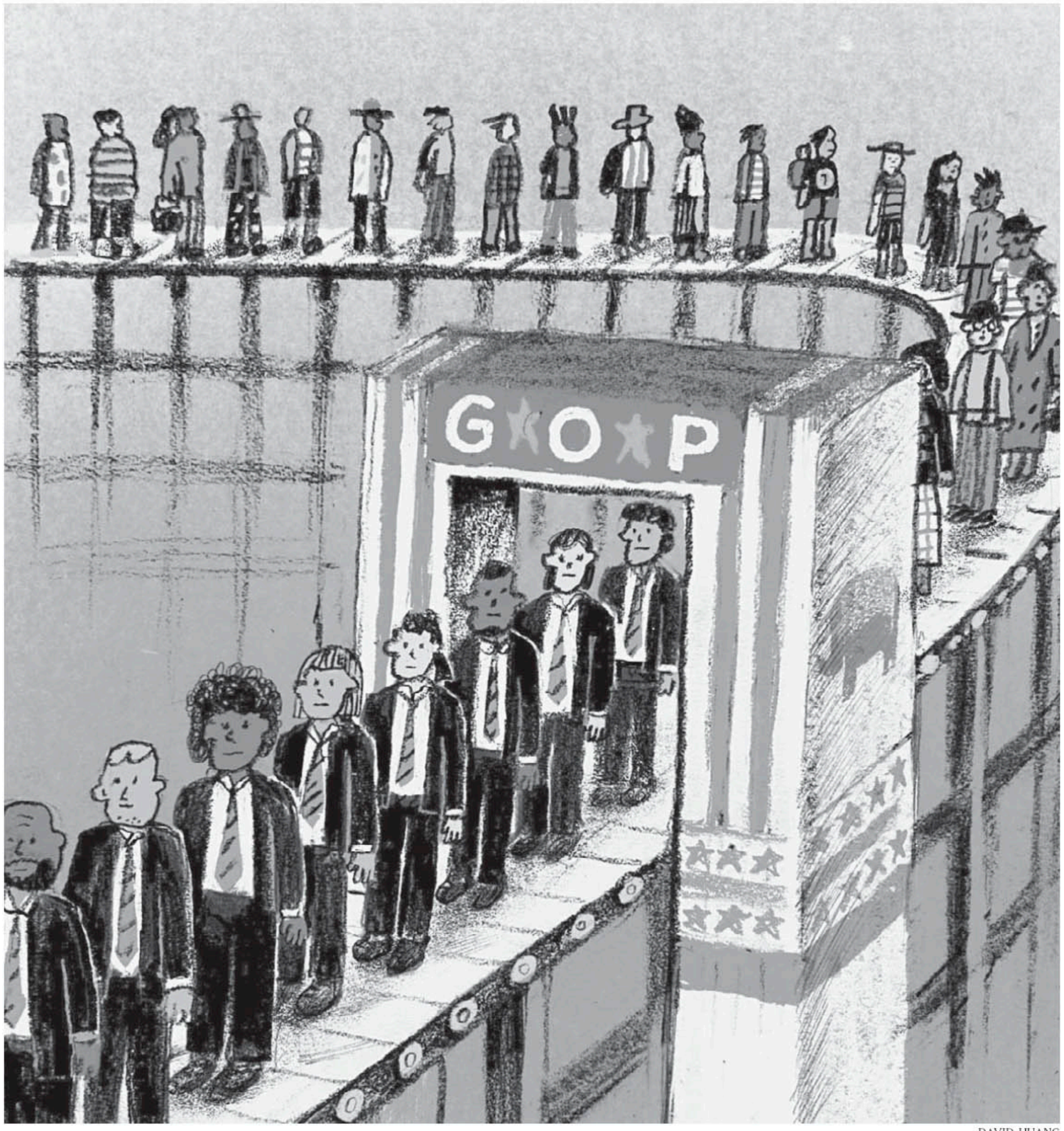
Republicans should be the natural enemies of this creeping conformity — and for years they were. Not long ago, they stressed the virtues of federalism. But today MAGA party activists and candidates are pressing similar agendas in every corner of the Republic. Guided by national media personalities and causes, they believe that conservative politics should look the same everywhere. To them, all politics is national.

This is a tragedy. It desensitizes the Republican Party to a whole realm of public need. That weakens our democracy, and it invites even more populist anger down the road when neglected problems get worse and become harder to solve.

For a long time, Republicans welcomed and even encouraged differences at the local level. The Republican Revolution, despite having nationalized congressional campaigns in 1994, ultimately sought to return power to states. It succeeded, for example, in passing the Unfunded Mandates Reform Act, which limited the federal government's ability to impose costly regulations on state and local governments. And welfare reform gave states more power over their own administrations. Such measures — whatever their policy limitations — created spaces for localities to go their own way. Maintaining these spaces, Republicans once agreed, was a critical way for a pluralistic nation like America to respect and manage its diversity.

As recently as the late 2000s, you could still see many local varieties of conservative politics on display. The 2008 Republican presidential primary featured a pro-choice mayor from socially liberal New York City (Rudy Giuliani) and an antiwar congressman from libertarian Texas (Ron Paul), both of whom were broadly accepted as real Republicans despite their sharp departures from the national brand. Today, such traitorous RINO-ism is less often tolerated. In recent years, county parties have censured Republican officeholders for not toeing the national party line on Medicaid expansion, pandemic restrictions and Donald Trump. These conformist pressures are only intensifying.

There is resistance, though. We have spent the past couple of years studying the Republican Party in Wyoming, where we have observed this clash between the nationalizers and the traditional Republicans up close. The party's old heads have made it a priority to defend what they call the Wyoming way, which includes keeping national issues of little relevance to Wyomingites out of state politics, however important they might be elsewhere.



DAVID HUANG

Conservative leaders are trying to keep national obsessions out of state politics.

Take immigration, for example. For several years, MAGA-aligned legislators have tried to pass a bill that would ban sanctuary cities and towns. Among them is Chuck Gray, a former state legislator who has since been elected Wyoming's secretary of state. Mr. Gray and his allies know there is no real appetite for such immigrant sanctuaries in their state, but they insist on these bills anyway. "It is important that we get ahead of this issue," Mr. Gray said. The bill kept going down, though, because the old heads knew there was nothing to get ahead of. "It's only significant in that the national political environment made it significant," Tim Stubson, a former state legislator, told us. "On the ground, it's not significant."

Critical race theory is another national issue the new types are constantly banging on about. In the past two years, they have pushed bills aimed at stopping its instruction, an obsession that bewilders members of the old guard who see it as a national problem that has barely touched their state.

Gail Symons, a longtime party activist, told us that she blames the national media for this newfound obsession with national issues. The new Republican guard takes "all the talking points that show up on Fox News," Ms. Symons lamented. "They think the folks on Fox News, most of whom have never been to Wyoming," know best about "what's going on in their own state and their own community."

Conservative intellectuals should take this sort of Republican plea seriously, but they haven't. In recent years, many of them have been seduced by national conservatism, a movement that claims to be working to preserve America's best traditions. Organizers of an annual National Conservatism conference, for example, call for the "revival of the unique national traditions that alone have the power to bind a people together and bring about their flourishing." But the national conservatives forget that one of our nation's proudest and longest political traditions is its history of decentralized parties and governance. Those institutions and practices bound Americans together in a world below our more divisive national politics. They allowed everyday Americans to define their values and interests at the community level, where genuine populist power and democracy were often strongest.

Already, you can see how a fully nationalized politics might backfire on Republicans. It creates a false sense of what the state governments can actually achieve. Even if there is a border crisis, for example, the State of Wyoming can't do much about it. As Landon Brown, an establishment Republican in the State Legislature, told us, "We have spent more time debating a nonissue than fixing our state budget issue." And as Cathy Connolly, a former House minority leader, noted, "There is no solution to a nonproblem." Whipping up people's passions may be galvanizing for now, but at some point, people will realize that their government hasn't done anything to improve their day-to-day lives.

Republican establishments in other states have been quietly resisting the nationalization of their party. In some — including Texas, Ohio and Alaska — old guard conservatives have even joined their fellow Democrats on certain issues, much as they have in Wyoming. And in Florida, there is still a divide between the MAGA crowd and the "Tallahassee" people, despite Ron DeSantis's popularity there.

But the Wyoming case is itself important for a simple reason: It's the most pro-Trump state in the union. Despite that obstacle, the old guard is having some success defending its own way of doing politics. It has defeated many bills that reflect national obsessions and fought to preserve some semblance of the old decorum. In fact, just last year it stripped its Trumpiest state senator of his committee assignments for a pattern of intimidating, intemperate speech. Of course, on their own, such rear-guard tactics won't be enough to save the Wyoming way. Champions of the old way must also do the hard work of aggressively recruiting local candidates and precinct committee chairs.

Fortunately, such efforts are already paying off in Wyoming. In 2023, thanks to strong candidate recruitment, the establishment reclaimed county party organizations in four of the state's solid-red counties. And while the establishment fared less well in legislative races, it prevailed against some of the most ultra-MAGA candidates and won enough critical races to maintain control of the State Legislature.

That success gives us reason to hope. After all, if the new nationalized politics can be held at bay in Trump-loving Wyoming, then perhaps it can be resisted anywhere.

Forests Won't Save Us From Climate Change

David Wallace-Wells

A writer for Opinion, a columnist for The Times Magazine and the author of "The Uninhabitable Earth."

CANADIAN wildfires have this year burned a land area larger than 104 of the world's 195 countries. The carbon dioxide released by them so far is estimated to be nearly 1.5 billion tons — more than twice as much as Canada releases through transportation, electricity generation, heavy industry, construction and agriculture combined. In fact, it is more than the total emissions of more than 100 of the world's countries — also combined.

But what is perhaps most striking about this year's fires is that despite their scale, they are merely a continuation of a dangerous trend: Every year since 2001, Canada's forests have emitted more carbon than they've absorbed. That is the central finding of a distressing analysis published last month by Barry Saxifrage in Canada's National Observer, ominously headlined "Our forests have reached a tipping point."

In fact, Mr. Saxifrage suggests, the tipping point was passed two decades ago, when the country's vast boreal forests, long a reliable "sink" for carbon, became instead a carbon "source." In the 2000s, the effect was relatively small. But so far in the 2020s, Canada's forests have raised the country's total emissions by 50 percent.

"There is this feel-good myth in Canada that our massive forest is offsetting some of our massive fossil fuel emissions," Mr. Saxifrage writes. "That might have been true decades ago under our old, stable climate. But we've so weakened our forest — through decades of business-as-usual industrial logging and fossil-fuelled climate shifts — that it has switched to hemorrhaging CO_2 instead of absorbing it."

And, in theory at least, there is a lot more to hemorrhage: Mr. Saxifrage calculates that the 3.7 billion tons of carbon dioxide released by Canada's forests since 2001 are only a small fraction of the 100 billion tons stored in its trees and soil. The trends there are not encouraging. "As extreme as this year's wildfire emissions have been," he says, "they are just the latest escalation in a multi-decade flood of CO_2 pouring out of Canada's 'managed' forests and forestry."

This is not a simple story of wildfire and climate change but also of logging and forest management. Roughly speaking, when trees logged and trees replanted and regrown are in balance, a forest's ability to absorb carbon is stable. But beginning in the early 2000s, twice as much carbon-absorbing ability was destroyed through logging as was regenerated by replanting. In the decades since, the forest has largely stopped regenerating at all. In the 1990s Canadian forests were sequestering 165 million tons of carbon each year, 20 million more than the carbon-storage loss by logging. In the 2010s those same forests released 35 million more tons of carbon each year than they stored, not including the additional carbon released by logging. In the 2020s, that number has grown to 180 million tons released annually.

It all seems very Canadian. This is a country that promotes itself as a soft-spoken environmentalist leader, endowed with an endless forest landscape, but which nevertheless expands its pipelines, mocks the idea of leaving fossil fuels in the ground and routinely arrests climate activists. Canada is one of the few countries with more per capita emissions than the United States; in fact, its overall carbon production has actually grown since 1990, with the country producing more than 20 percent more carbon dioxide in 2019 than it did three decades earlier. This year, in the hellish midst of its worst fire season in modern history, Alberta actually hit pause on new renewable energy projects — a pause that may derail 118 projects worth $33 billion.

But the story is much larger than Canada. The world has really invested in the promise of forests as a climate solution, not just in the vaguely conceived "billion trees" or "8 billion trees" or "trillion trees" proposals endorsed by supporters as various as Marc Benioff and Donald Trump and the World Wildlife Fund, but in elaborate offset projects and carbon-credit markets designed to mitigate the effects of industrial emissions by planting enough trees to absorb all that carbon through photosynthesis.

These proposals always stretched the veneer of plausibility. Planting a trillion trees would mean essentially standing up a new Amazon, and offsetting a meaningful share of the world's fossil fuel emissions would require, it's been estimated, turning over a third of the planet's arable land to tree plantations. Offsetting all of them could require more than all the farmland on Earth. And because they eventually die, trees don't store carbon permanently, even when they don't combust and even when plantations are impeccably managed, which they rarely are.

But in recent months carbon offsetting has begun to look like an outright sham, with reports illustrating the emptiness of a vast majority of programs, particularly those that pay skimpily for poorly monitored projects in the developing world.

In one particularly scathing review in Science, researchers estimated that only 6 percent of 89 million carbon offsets would be associated with real carbon reductions. My colleague Peter Coy recently noted that the British bank Barclays suggested that the cost of offsets had fallen by more than three-quarters in just a year, a reflection of how little faith those buying them have in their reliability; voluntary carbon markets are shrinking for the first time in seven years out of growing skepticism.

And last month in The Guardian, Patrick Greenfield speculated that carbon-credit speculators stood to lose many billions as the world came to realize that nearly all of the offsets being sold were "worthless." A 2020 study showed that much-celebrated offsets sold for the Brazilian Amazon had barely slowed deforestation there. And a white paper published this summer by Joe Romm argued that the whole project of mitigating emissions through carbon offsets using forest replantation was "unscalable, unjust and unfixable."

I wouldn't be quite so fatalistic. Planting trees is still good, all else being equal, and can offer some climate benefits, if more limited ones than optimistic assessments suggest. And it is perhaps too cynical to judge offsets by the failures of the past. (If we judge all climate solutions by that standard, nearly all fail.) Even in a world of continued warming, some of the analyses show, forests can be managed better, deforestation more effectively combated and carbon more reliably stored. Logging practices can be reformed and deforestation in places like the Amazon can be reversed. In fact, under President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva of Brazil, they already are, with rates of Amazon clearing down 34 percent from January to June.

Thanks to wildfires and logging, in some places trees emit more carbon than they absorb.

But the world's most precious rainforest is still in quite a lot of trouble, as Daniel Grossman documented last month in Nature. A 2021 review of 590 plane flights documenting forest behavior found that carbon uptake was weakening across the region and that in the southeast Amazon, the forest had already become a net source of carbon dioxide — raising alarm that the ecosystem may already be approaching a much-feared tipping point. Other studies have suggested that the rainforest as a whole may already have flipped from a carbon sink to a carbon source.

"What we were predicting to happen perhaps in two or three decades is already taking place," one of those researchers told Mr. Grossman. And while policymakers discussing the transformation of the Amazon often emphasize the role of deforestation, which theoretically can be reversed, other research has suggested a larger impact of other warming-related changes, including fire. "We are killing this ecosystem directly and indirectly," the climate scientist Luciana Gatti, who led the 2021 review, told Mr. Grossman. "This is what scares me terribly and why it's affecting me so much when I come here. I'm observing the forest dying."

Worrying trends have also been observed in the Congo basin. In less consequential places, such as the Czech Republic, countries have come to rely on forest uptake to manage their own carbon footprints — only to see those forests turned into carbon sources by warming. Some forests elsewhere in the world may offer more encouraging trends. But according to UNESCO, forests in 10 World Heritage Sites have been net carbon emitters over the past two decades. And for those of us raised on generations of naturalist fables — from "The Lorax" to "The Overstory" — the recent fires in Canada may be a disorienting cultural tipping point. If we thought trees might save us, that is looking increasingly like a foolish bet. In many parts of the world, trees are not perfect allies for tree-huggers anymore, and forests no longer reliable climate partners. What was once the embodiment of environmental values now seems to be fighting for the other side. In some places, fighting harder each year.

COLUMNIST | FARHAD MANJOO

A LinkedIn Post Come to Life

LAST YEAR, for a column I was writing about the power that large asset managers like BlackRock and Vanguard exert over the global economy, I called up Vivek Ramaswamy. He was delighted to hear from me.

I don't mean this as self-aggrandizement. Ramaswamy was starting Strive, an asset management company he hoped would take on the BlackRocks and Vanguards of the world, and was publishing his second book, so he had good reason to court media attention. Still, I found his enthusiasm noteworthy; as a journalist who covers Silicon Valley, I'm used to smooth-operator entrepreneurs eager for coverage, but Ramaswamy's media hustle was of a different order.

He told me I could call him anytime I'd like to bounce ideas off a "thought partner." He sent me a PDF of his upcoming book — "No one has seen an advance copy yet" — and followed up to ask, seemingly earnestly, for my thoughts on his thesis. And when I joked, in my piece, that the title of his first book, "Woke, Inc.: Inside Corporate America's Social Justice Scam," sounded "as if it had been formulated in a lab at Fox News to maximally tickle the base and trigger the libs," he texted me with an explanation that he suggested I append to the published column:

> My publisher (Hachette) and I selected the book title long before the word "woke" had become weaponized in the culture wars. Today, I mostly don't even use that word anymore; it's not part of my vernacular today. It was suggested to me as a title by a self-identified "far-left" friend in early 2020. The word took on a different valence between then and late 2021 when my book was published. I just wanted you to know that, since I saw you mused about the etymology of the title in your piece. It certainly wasn't cooked up in a Fox News lab, and in all honesty the goal wasn't to trigger anyone. If anything, my goal with the book was to provide a unifying voice across culturally fraught questions, and I think most left-wing readers of the book would agree that it was at least clear I tried to do that.

Maybe that was all really the case. But I got the impression that he was also trying — a little too hard — to paint himself in a light that he thought might appeal to a lefty Times columnist.

In the wake of his breakout performance at last month's Republican primary debate, much has been made of Ramaswamy's irrepressible annoyingness — is it a bug that could prevent him from winning the G.O.P. presidential nomination, or is it the feature that could help him secure it?

But what I found striking about Ramaswamy was not that he's especially irritating (how many people who run for president aren't?) but that he represents a very familiar flavor of irritation: He's the epitome of millennial hustle culture, less a Tracy Flick know-it-all than a viral LinkedIn post come to life. The guy who's always mining and nurturing new connections, always leveraging those connections into the next new thing, always selling and always, always closing.

Seen this way, Ramaswamy's otherwise quixotic-seeming presidential run makes perfect sense. Whether or not he wins, running for the White House is the ultimate rise and grind, and it probably offers far more upside than down. Incessant, glad-handed striving has already made Ramaswamy a wealthy man. According to Politico, his campaign said he's ready to put more than $100 million into his presidential bid, but because this latest side hustle feeds so neatly into his other projects, it's hardly clear that the run will be so costly. Measured in name recognition, the expansion of his network or future money-making opportunities, running for president could well add to his riches.

Take Strive, the management company he co-founded. In "Woke, Inc.," Ramaswamy lamented what he saw as the pollution of capitalist principles with social justice activism. Rather than focus on the bottom line, he argued, the leaders of America's largest corporations had allowed their employees and other elites to goad them into adopting what he said are costly political stances on race, gender, climate and other charged issues.

This isn't exactly a groundbreaking position on the right — combating corporate wokeness is basically Ron DeSantis's whole thing. But whereas DeSantis's fixation on all things woke is primarily a vehicle for his political ascent, Ramaswamy saw in wokeness a larger opportunity. He would write a book and guest essays assailing corporate E.S.G. (environmental, social and governance) practices, and he was also considering a political run, but to really "move the needle," he told me, would also require taking on "the asset management ideological cartel." And backed with a reported $20 million from billionaire investors and tech entrepreneurs he'd courted, among them Bill Ackman and Peter Thiel, he started Strive.

That's not a lot of money with which to take on the giants of asset management — BlackRock and Vanguard each manage trillions in assets — but Ramaswamy's hustle was unceasing. Three months after it opened for business, Strive announced that it had already attracted $500 million in investments for its anti-woke E.T.F.s, or exchange-traded funds. In June it reported $750 million in assets under management, and this week it reported crossing the $1 billion mark.

"It is a rare feat for any indie issuer to hit $1 billion in first year," Eric Balchunas, a Bloomberg Intelligence analyst, told Bloomberg News of Strive's accomplishment. "Ramaswamy's wealthy backers helped a lot, and running for president probably can't hurt, either." You think?

Ramaswamy no longer works at Strive. Via email, the company told me that he was the executive chairman of the board and ran day-to-day operations until February, when he stepped down to run for president.

But he still has a huge interest in its success. Ramaswamy is identified as Strive's majority shareholder in a recent S.E.C. filing, and in a June financial disclosure form he valued his stake in the company at over $50 million — a remarkable amount for a company that's just about a year old, where he worked for just months. His disclosure listed his stake in Roivant Sciences, a biotech company he was previously the chief executive of, at over $50 million as well.

Looking back on my exchange with Ramaswamy, I find it interesting how hard he pushed back on his association with the word "woke"; he hasn't shied away from it on the campaign trail. In February, announcing his candidacy in The Wall Street Journal, he wrote that "America is in the midst of a national identity crisis" and that "the Republican Party's top priority should be to fill this void with an inspiring national identity that dilutes the woke agenda to irrelevance."

But his current comfort with "woke" works for winning over a G.O.P. primary audience. When he needs to cultivate a broader base, whether in the general election or in hopes of expanding his Rolodex for his next side hustle, I'm sure he won't hesitate to reach out and tell me just what he thinks I want to hear.

JAMIE KELTER DAVIS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Running for president is Ramaswamy's latest side hustle.

Political Repression Won't Save China's Economy

Ho-fung Hung

A professor of political economy at Johns Hopkins University whose books include "The China Boom: Why China Will Not Rule the World."

IN AUGUST the Chinese government released a shocking piece of data: A record 21.3 percent of Chinese citizens between the ages of 16 and 24 in cities were unemployed. It promptly decided to suspend future publication of its urban youth unemployment rate. The current data is bad enough; it's about the same youth unemployment rate across the Middle East on the eve of the Arab Spring.

The Chinese Communist Party knows very well that young, educated and unemployed people concentrated in big cities have the capacity to challenge authority. After all, that is how their own party started. For decades, the party-state's legitimacy depended on economic growth and improving living standards that are now in jeopardy. Instead of meeting the needs of frustrated youth by generating new jobs and opportunities, the aging leadership has doubled down on authoritarian repression as its primary policy response to a worsening economic crisis.

This isn't the first time the C.C.P. has had to contend with urban unemployment. For more than 70 years now, the problem has bubbled up only to be either contained by a political crackdown or relieved by favorable economic developments.

After the founding of the People's Republic in 1949, Chinese peasants fled the dilapidated countryside to find work in the big cities. To restrain this migration, the party imposed new rules that prevented citizens from obtaining social services away from their registered home cities. Spared from the competition of rural job seekers, city dwellers had more secure employment.

New shocks to the economy and demographics raised the threat of youth unemployment yet again through the 1950s and '60s. With the economy faltering after the disastrous Great Leap Forward and loss of Soviet aid, a generation of Chinese urban baby boomers were about to graduate into a worsening job market. In 1966, Mao Zedong started the Cultural Revolution to partially redirect these youths, who ended up causing so much turmoil that Mao shifted course, beginninging a nationwide "down to the countryside" movement to force a whole generation of urban youth to till rural fields.

In the late '90s, state-owned enterprises, which were pillars of the Mao-era economy, conducted widespread layoffs as a part of market reforms, threatening urban employment yet again. The Asian financial crisis compounded things, and laid-off state workers and pensioners protested in rust belt cities in northeastern China. China's entry into the World Trade Organization in 2001 — which brought a surge of foreign investment and jobs — saved the day.

China is once again repeating this cycle, and the government is predictably responding with repression. This time the party appears to have no policy card up its sleeve, and with China's boom times over, it will be increasingly difficult for China's economy to grow its way out of trouble.

China's G.D.P. growth has slowed significantly since the early 2010s, and the economic rebound after the pandemic lockdowns has been disappointing. At the same time, an expanding higher education system is churning out ever larger numbers of graduates who are not settling for the tedious factory jobs of yesteryear.

Many recent graduates had turned instead to jobs in the fast-growing tech, real estate and tutoring sectors. But the Chinese government has cracked down on those three industries since 2021 to curb what President Xi Jinping calls the "disorderly expansion of capital." Last year Alibaba, the e-commerce giant, ended up laying off more than 10,000 employees. Country Garden, one of the country's largest property developers, cut its head count by over 30,000. A top education company shed 60,000 jobs in 2021.

The government is also resorting to an old playbook. As early as 2018, Mr. Xi called for a campaign to send urban youth to the countryside with renewed appeals every couple of years. Even if young city dwellers were actually interested in answering that call, this is not the countryside of their parents' youth: Arable farmland has been shrinking.

If the government does not increase household consumption or ease its grip on China's private sector, high urban unemployment — youth discontentment — is here to stay. In recent years, many disillusioned young Chinese have joined in an anti-work movement known as lying flat, slacking off as a form of silent resistance. A Peking University economist studying this movement estimated that when those who are willingly lying flat are taken into account, almost half of all Chinese youths may be jobless.

Problems like these invite speculation that Communist Party control is under threat, but that is premature. From late imperial times to today, scattered protests rarely posed a substantive challenge to central government control; protesters' demands were often directed at local officials. They became a serious problem only in rare cases when disillusioned intellectuals linked isolated protests into an organized movement demanding a fundamental change of the system, which is what communist activists did in the early 20th century.

There is no such threat on the horizon today. Aware of these dynamics, the C.C. P. has cracked down harshly on intellectuals. Rights lawyers, feminists, L.G.B.T.Q. activists and even young Marxists have been rounded up or had their organizations disbanded. New technologies like facial recognition, widespread security cameras and cellphone tracking give the government expanded capacity to monitor individuals' movements and thoughts. This totalitarian turn has been so complete that China is increasingly compared to North Korea. Given the party's history, it is clear that these actions are aimed at least in part at containing the political fallout of a worsening economy.

Autocratic, economically distressed governments in Myanmar, Iran, Venezuela and Russia have all managed to beat back large-scale protests brutally. There is little reason Mr. Xi's regime, which has single-mindedly perfected the infrastructure of repression over the last decade, could not do the same.

The C.C.P. seems intent on using repression as its main policy response to the economic slowdown. But while this may prevent threats to the regime, it will put the party in an even deeper hole by ensuring further strangulation of the country's economic dynamism.

The tug of war between increasingly disgruntled youth and a ruthless and insecure regime will define not only China's political trajectory but also its economic future.

Young people can't find work. That's a problem for Xi Jinping.

LETTERS

Liberal Reactions to a Working-Class Song

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "Liberals on Their High Horse About 'Rich Men,'" by Nicholas Kristof (column, Aug. 31):

Thank you, Mr. Kristof, for once again opening eyes with your column about Oliver Anthony's song "Rich Men North of Richmond."

I will admit to being one of those "liberals" ready to dismiss the song without listening to it. After reading the column I did listen to it, and I recognize it as continuing the tradition of protest songs that many in my generation embraced wholeheartedly in the '60s, expressing the frustration of the working class in its struggle for the dignity and respect we all crave.

It is time that those of us who have had the privilege of higher education and rewarding career paths put ourselves in the shoes of those who have had neither. We need to recognize the resulting widespread anguish and despair as a failing of our society, and embrace our own responsibility to proactively work toward healing these widening cracks in our democracy before it is too late.

BARBARA WILSON
ALTADENA, CALIF.

TO THE EDITOR:

Nicholas Kristof writes, "Liberals are properly attentive to racial injustice but have a blind spot about class, driven in part by unfair stereotypes that members of the white working class are invariably bigots."

It strikes me as somewhat ridiculous to use stereotypes about liberals in order to accuse liberals of indulging in stereotypes.

I'm a member of the white working class, a high school dropout who has spent decades fighting poverty, addiction and the impossibility of surviving on minimum wage. I also have very liberal political views.

Living a life beset with constant financial worries does not afford one the right to indulge in bigotry any more than living a life of success and luxury does. Bigotry and reliance on stereotypes bloom in many socioeconomic classes and stations in life.

TOR LARSEN
MELBOURNE, AUSTRALIA

TO THE EDITOR:

I commend Nicholas Kristof for reminding us about the extreme inequalities produced by the current structure of the capitalist economy, but the key to Oliver Anthony's sudden success is not a general critique of capitalism but the direction of his anger northward.

Whether intended or not by Mr. Anthony, this makes "Rich Men North of Richmond" a convenient distraction from the profound inequalities that characterize most of the Southern states.

Should anyone be curious about the way rich men (and women) *south* of Richmond use the levers of political power to enrich themselves and impoverish the poor, Black and white, I recommend the stunning July 2022 Opinion guest essay by Robin Kaiser-Schatzlein, with the online headline "Alabama Takes From the Poor and Gives to the Rich."

Alas, I doubt that a song with that title would soar to the top of the charts.

BARBARA WEINSTEIN
NEW YORK

The writer is a professor of history at New York University.

A Politician's Health

TO THE EDITOR:

The New York Times has seen as fit to print the opinions of doctors regarding the medical condition of a politician whom they have not examined: Senator Mitch McConnell, the minority leader. Of course, a proviso is given that they are rendering opinions based on observations and have not done an examination.

In the meantime, the American Psychiatric Association continues to prohibit psychiatrists from giving such opinions, based on the Goldwater Rule. However, many psychiatrists have opined on Donald Trump's mental health, believing that it is unethical to withhold information indicative of dangerousness.

Many of the psychiatrists who courageously contributed to the 2017 book "The Dangerous Case of Donald Trump" believe that subsequent events have demonstrated the validity of their claims.

Indeed, Mr. Trump continues to show evidence of what many (not just psychiatrists) suggest is a severe personality disorder, including his refusal to accept that he lost the 2020 election.

And if in fact Mr. Trump truly believes that he won the election, then perhaps he suffers from an even more serious disorder. It is time for the American Psychiatric Association to drop or revise the Goldwater Rule.

FREDRIC N. BUSCH
NEW YORK

The writer is a clinical professor of psychiatry at Weill Cornell Medical College.

Senior Ballet Classes

TO THE EDITOR:

"In an Artful Workout for Aging Bodies, Failure Is an Option" (Science Times, Sept. 5), about senior ballet classes, absolutely delighted and resonated with me. As an 88-year-old, I qualify for "an artful workout."

Growing up in Manhattan, a balletomane from my childhood, I was determined to be a ballerina from the age of 3. Life intervened; this did not happen. So in addition to attending performances, I have started taking ballet lessons for the sheer love of the art.

The beauty of movement with music and the grace of the positions, even with all the attendant imperfections, are simply thrilling for me. Fortunately New Haven has an excellent ballet school — New Haven Ballet, where I take lessons — that is welcoming to all ages.

PAULA ARMBRUSTER
NEW HAVEN, CONN.

Time for Ukraine Talks

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "Ukraine's Forces Try to Punch Second Hole in Russian Lines" (news article, Sept. 6):

When will the U.S. stop fueling its proxy war with Russia? As your article suggests, Ukraine's ongoing counteroffensive will likely require "several more months" and "heavy casualties on both sides."

Vladimir Putin's apparent recourse to North Korea suggests that he needs more weapons. President Biden may have already achieved his stated goal of degrading the Russian military.

With Ukraine also running low on ammunition, now is the time for international mediators to begin shuttle diplomacy. The objective should be to secure first a cease-fire and then a long-term peace agreement. Continuing arms shipments to Ukraine can only delay that process and cost more lives.

L. MICHAEL HAGER
EASTHAM, MASS.

The writer is a co-founder and former director general of the International Development Law Organization in Rome.

Censorship in Prisons

TO THE EDITOR:

"Finding Clarity and Inspiration in Writing, While Incarcerated" (news article, Sept. 7) details the enormous benefits that incarcerated people gain from writing programs of this kind. It's important to note, though, how rare such programs are inside U.S. prisons and jails.

In fact, prisons and jails actively prevent people from reading and writing much more than they encourage it. Thousands of books are banned in individual states; New York alone has banned 5,356 separate titles.

I've tried to start reading discussion groups in prisons and have been met with red tape and bureaucratic stalling. In my work, I've found that reading and writing are not largely understood by prison authorities to be beneficial but rather are met with suspicion. This is true despite the fact that both reading and writing are demonstrated to reduce recidivism.

On Sept. 14, the exhibit "Return to Sender: Prison as Censorship" opens at the EFA Project Space in Manhattan. There, visitors can see the ways that prisons and jails prevent people from the learning, self-expression and creativity that reading and writing offer.

MOIRA MARQUIS, NEW YORK

The writer is senior manager of the Freewrite Project, part of the Prison and Justice Writing Program at PEN America.

3 WAR IN UKRAINE
Elon Musk acknowledged withholding satellite service to thwart a Ukraine drone attack on a Russian fleet.

4 LABOR
U.A.W. and automakers remain far apart with less than a week to go to iron out details for a new contract.

9 SPORTS
Germany upset the U.S. team, which had only four N.B.A. All-Stars, in the World Cup semifinals.

Business
The New York Times
SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 2023 B1
N

Bond Issues Show Signs Of Optimism On Wall St.

The rush by companies to borrow comes as fears of a recession are receding.

By JOE RENNISON

Companies have rushed to borrow tens of billions of dollars this week, a sign that optimism about the outlook for the economy is beginning to take hold.

Dozens of big companies, from BMW to McDonald's, have issued close to $60 billion in bonds in recent days, according to Refinitiv. That sum nearly matches the value of dollar-denominated bonds issued over all of August, and marks the third-largest issuance in a week this year.

The post-Labor Day period is typically busy for bankers and traders as they return from summer vacations, but the sharp increase in bond issues in recent days has surpassed expectations, analysts said.

It's a sign of rising confidence that companies are willing to borrow rather than conservatively manage their debt loads, and investors are willing to lend rather than sit on cash, as concerns about a potential recession diminish.

"There is no question in my mind that the economy is slowing, but there is also no question that it's not going into recession," said Andrew Brenner, the head of international fixed income at National Alliance Securities. "The window for companies to borrow is wide open right now."

The improving sentiment in the bond market echoes the rally in the stock market this year, as investors have become increasingly hopeful that the economy can achieve a so-called soft landing.

Despite the parallels in sentiment, the wave of bond issuance itself weighed on stocks this week. The bumper bond supply pushed bond prices lower, which raises yields. Stock prices are sensitive to increases in interest rates, such as bond yields, because it can raise costs for companies.

The S&P 500 was flat at close on Friday but is still up more than 16 percent this year.

The dollar has gained about 5 percent over the past few weeks against the currencies of major trading partners, a sharp move in that market, suggesting that investors are piling into U.S. assets

CONTINUED ON PAGE B2

Satirical Film Lampoons Trade Titans

By BROOKS BARNES

LOS ANGELES — "Dumb Money" is the kind of midbudget, formula-busting, thinking-person's movie that isn't supposed to get made anymore, much less receive a wide, studio-backed release in theaters.

It tells the bizarre true story of small investors — a nurse, college students, a YouTube personality known as Roaring Kitty — who created a Wall Street frenzy over the troubled video game retailer GameStop during the pandemic. Determined to teach professional investors a lesson, and hopefully get rich in the process, they pushed GameStop shares to a stratospheric level in early 2021, for a time putting the squeeze on sophisticated hedge funds that had bet that GameStop shares would fall.

The $30 million film, directed by Craig Gillespie ("Cruella"), contains withering depictions of real-life Wall Street figures like Kenneth C. Griffin, the Citadel titan; Steven A. Cohen, the hedge fund manager and New York Mets owner; and Gabe Plotkin, whose hedge fund lost billions in the squeeze. In one colorful scene, Mr. Cohen, played by Vincent

CONTINUED ON PAGE B5

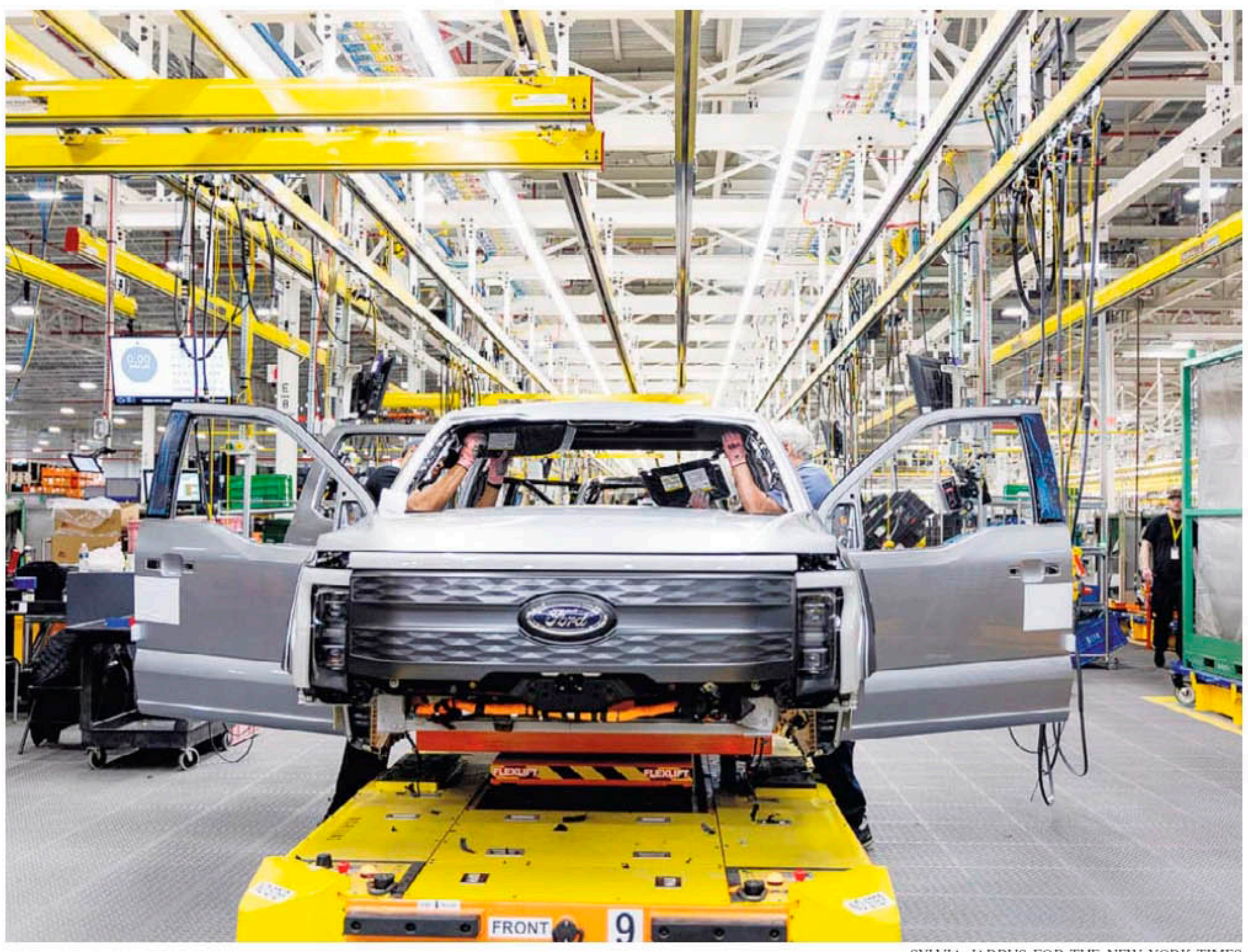
Doing Business in China Is Risky, but So Is Retreating

POOL PHOTO BY ANDY WONG

The U.S. commerce secretary, Gina M. Raimondo, center, visited Boeing in Shanghai last month. She recently said that the concerns in China add up to a feeling among American businesses that the nation is "uninvestable."

HECTOR RETAMAL/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

An Apple store in Shanghai. Apple's stock fell 6 percent after the Chinese government said it was banning iPhones for employees at some government agencies, erasing nearly $200 billion from the company's market value.



SYLVIA JARRUS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Ford Motor has received political blowback for a deal to license technology from CATL, the Chinese battery company. The company structured the partnership so Ford could own and run its battery plant in Michigan.

Weighing a long-term global edge against uncertain conditions.

By ALEXANDRA STEVENSON

HONG KONG — For decades, America's corporate chieftains saw China as a money spinner. They gushed about its hundreds of millions of consumers, called it "one of the biggest opportunities" and made predictions that this would be "China's century."

Now, those executives have come away from recent visits to the country with a more sober view. Western companies doing business in China are facing pressures that were unimaginable several years ago. The country's economy is floundering, and its relationship with the United States is strained. Three years of border restrictions and an effective commercial lockdown have opened cracks that have yet to heal.

Nine months into the country's post-Covid reopening, companies are grappling with a tough reality: China's $18 trillion economy is fraught with peril but remains impossible to ignore and difficult to leave. A retreat could mean losing an edge to future global competitors. Many Western companies still see their China operations as a long-term bet, but the payoff is tempered with hazards.

"There is a recognition among C.E.O.s that they need to mitigate some risks," said Myron Brilliant, a senior counselor at Dentons Global Advisors-ASG. "They don't want to ignore the market, but everyone has their eyes wide open in this environment."

The list of worries is long. Police raids on Western companies, steep fines, scuttled deals, regulations restricting data transfers and a wide-reaching counterespionage law have increased the costs of doing business. Other risks are known as gray swans — rare but not unimaginable events like another pandemic, more economic sanctions or open cross-border conflict. The concerns add up to what Gina M. Raimondo, the U.S. commerce secretary, described recently as a feeling among American businesses that China is "uninvestable."

The fallout can be swift. Reports this week that the Chinese government is banning iPhones for employees at government agencies and other state-controlled entities sent Apple's stock sliding 6 percent, erasing nearly $200 billion from its market value.

A worsening economic outlook has added to companies' concerns, making it harder to justify investing more money in the country. After being shut out for three years, foreign corporate heads are finally beginning to visit their staff in China. Many expected to find an economy roaring back.

Instead, some executives have returned home with concerns that Chinese officials are overconfident they can handle the country's economic downturn. Privately, corporate leaders have looked with alarm at how investment by Chinese companies has dried up. Why, they ask, should we put money in China if its own private sector doesn't have faith in the economy?

"The conversation about China in corporate boardrooms is inexorably shifted toward more caution," said Jude Blanchette, a China specialist at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington. The reason, he said, is the slowing economy, as well as "Beijing's erratic and punitive regulatory behavior, its movement toward totalitarianism, and

CONTINUED ON PAGE B3

The Digest

AVIATION

U.S. Plans to Spend More On Preventing Close Calls

JIM WATSON/AFP — GETTY IMAGES

The Biden administration said Friday that it would invest more money in aviation safety and consider requiring planes to be equipped with technology designed to prevent close calls around airports.

The moves came after a string of close calls at airports around the country. Federal investigators have begun looking into seven such incidents since January, and those are only the most serious ones.

The White House said it was investing $26 million in new safety measures, including automation to alert air traffic controllers about planes that are heading for the wrong runway. The money will also outfit more airports with radar systems that track the movement of planes on runways and taxiways.

Separately, the Federal Aviation Administration asked an internal advisory panel of experts to make recommendations on how to require systems that would alert pilots if they are lined up to land on the wrong runway or a taxiway, or when they choose a runway that is too short. *ASSOCIATED PRESS*

ECONOMY

U.S. Household Wealth Hits Record: $154 Trillion

A surging stock market helped U.S. household wealth rise to a record high of more than $154 trillion in the second quarter, aided by a rebound in property values, according to Federal Reserve data released on Friday.

Household net worth rose 3.7 percent to $154.28 trillion from $148.79 trillion at the end of the first quarter, the Fed said in its quarterly snapshot of the balance sheets of households, businesses and governments.

The data showed that households have fully recouped the wealth losses generated by a crushing bear market for stocks and weaker real estate values through much of last year as the Fed kicked off an aggressive campaign to rein in inflation through large, rapid-fire interest rate increases.

The S&P 500 total return index, including reinvested dividends, delivered an 8.7 percent return in the second quarter, its largest gain since the final three months of 2021. The equity market's rally added $2.6 trillion to household net worth, accounting for nearly half of the overall wealth gain in the quarter. *REUTERS*

INTERNATIONAL

China Pledges Investment Of $21 Billion to Indonesia

Li Qiang, China's premier, on Friday pledged $21.7 billion in new Chinese investment in Indonesia to strengthen the countries' economic and political ties, an official said.

Mr. Li arrived in Jakarta on Tuesday to attend the three-day summit of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations and meet with Indonesian leaders.

President Joko Widodo hosted Mr. Li at Merdeka Palace in Jakarta on Friday and discussed ways to expand trade and investment. He sought China's help in plans to move Indonesia's capital from congested and polluted Jakarta on the main island of Java to Nusantara on Borneo island.

After the meeting, Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi announced the new Chinese investment pledge, which follows a $44.89 billion commitment made when Mr. Widodo met Chinese President Xi Jinping in July. Details of the new investment were not announced. *ASSOCIATED PRESS*

S&P 500 INDEX
+0.1%
4,457.49

DOW JONES INDUSTRIALS
+0.2%
34,576.59

NASDAQ COMPOSITE INDEX
+0.1%
13,761.53

10-YEAR TREASURY YIELD
4.26%
+0.001 points

CRUDE OIL (U.S.)
$87.51
+$0.64

GOLD (N.Y.)
$1,942.70
+$0.20

Bond Issues Signal Optimism on Wall St.

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

as growth in China falters and the outlook for Europe is underwhelming. Europe's benchmark Stoxx 600 index has fallen for eight consecutive days.

This week, analysts at Goldman Sachs lowered their forecast probability of a recession in the United States to just 15 percent. A recent survey of investors conducted by Bank of America showed an increase in respondents who want companies to employ more expansive strategies, spending on growth rather than reining in costs and paying down debt.

Some analysts also attributed the rise in bond issuance this week to the potential for borrowing costs to rise further in the months ahead, as the Federal Reserve considers whether to increase interest rates again. And even if the Fed leaves rates alone,

Some analysts suspect borrowing costs will rise in coming months.

a relatively strong economy also makes the prospects for eventual rate cuts more distant.

This week also presented a rare window without the U.S. government flooding markets with newly issued debt, making companies that need to raise cash able to get deals done sooner rather than later.

"There remains more of a conservative mind-set than I think there need be," said Jonny Fine, who runs investment-grade debt issuance at Goldman Sachs, speaking about the highest-quality, most creditworthy companies. "As a result, a large number of companies want to be first in the queue when supply is expected to be heavy."

The borrowing binge has also begun to extend to riskier, lower-rated companies, another sign of optimism among investors about the economy.

Still, credit rating downgrades and defaults picked up in August, according to S&P Global, leading the rating agency to raise its forecast for the share of lowly rated companies that will renege on their debts over the next year in the United States, to 4.5 percent from 3.2 percent over the past year.

The bond uptick also comes as analysts and investors point to a looming "maturity wall," with some borrowers closing in on deadlines to refinance low-interest bonds if they want to avoid having to repay the debt in full when it comes due.

"Companies have been postponing this unpleasant transition to high borrowing costs but we are getting to this window where time is running out," said Yuri Seliger, a credit analyst at Bank of America.

However, a number of companies are avoiding locking in high interest rates for lengthy periods, with many recent bonds carrying much shorter repayment timelines than usual, giving companies flexibility to lower their costs if interest rates fall in the coming years.

"It makes sense," Mr. Seliger said. "If interest rates are really high right now, why do I want to lock that in for 30 years?"

The S&P 500 Index

Position of the S&P 500 index at 1-minute intervals on Friday

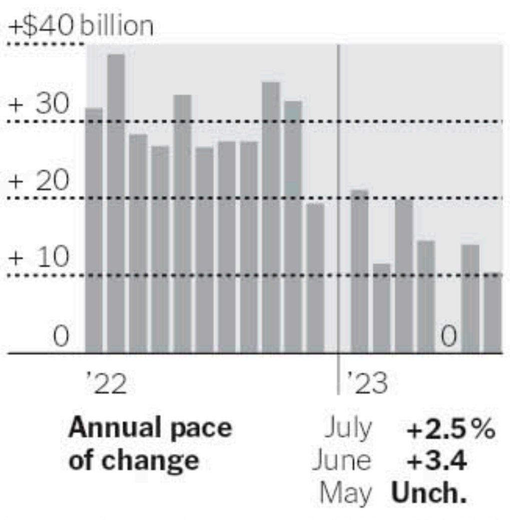
Source: FactSet THE NEW YORK TIMES

SPENCER PLATT/GETTY IMAGES

This week presented a rare window without the U.S. government flooding markets with new debt.

Consumer Borrowing

Net change in total consumer debt, excluding mortgages, seasonally adjusted.

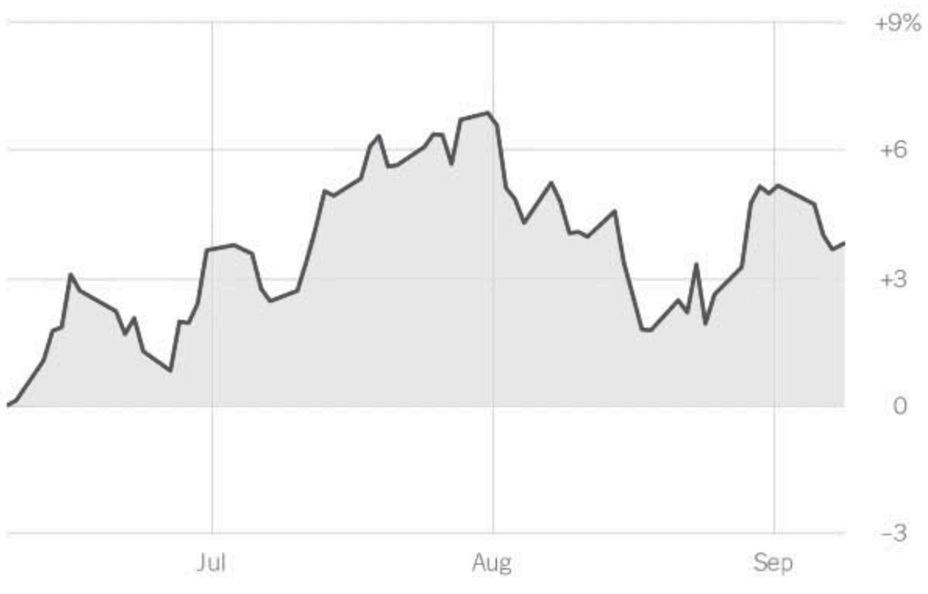


Source: Federal Reserve THE NEW YORK TIMES

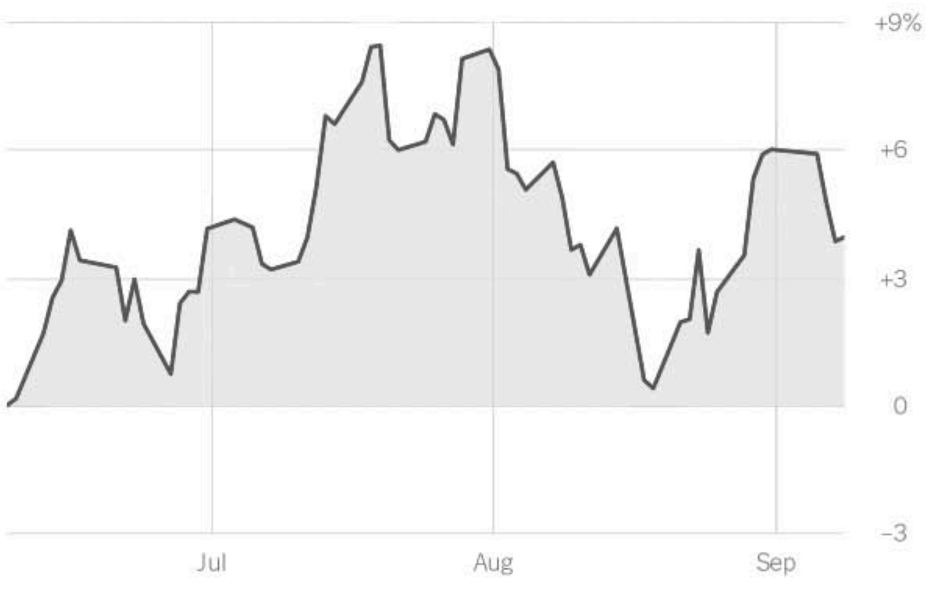
What Happened in Stock Markets Yesterday

POWERED BY FACTSET

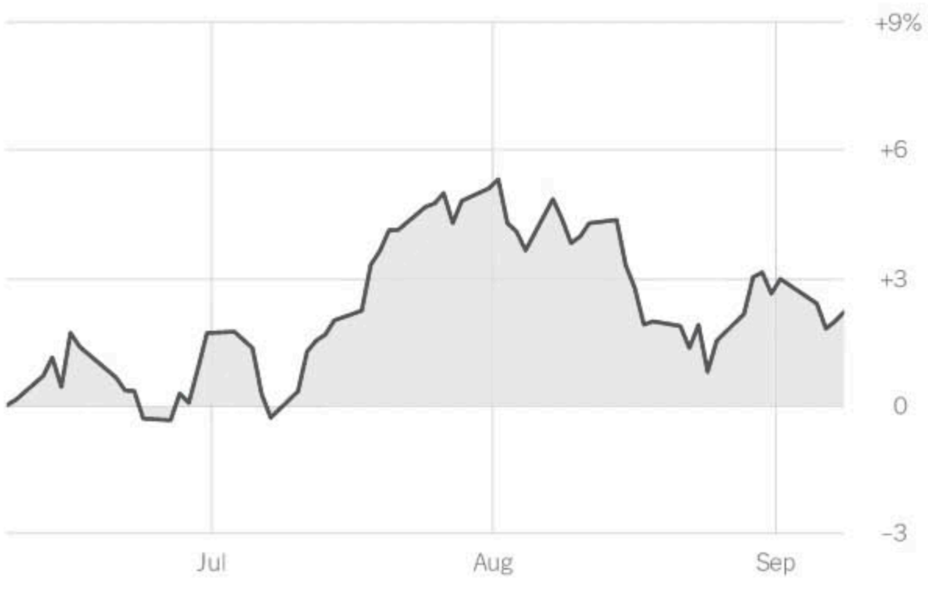
S&P 500 4,457.49 ↑+0.1%
3 month performance: **+3.8%**



Nasdaq Composite Index 13,761.53 ↑+0.1%
3 month performance: **+4.0%**



Dow Jones Industrials 34,576.59 ↑+0.2%
3 month performance: **+2.2%**



Best performers

S&P 500 COMPANIES	CLOSE	CHANGE
1. Paramount Global 'B' (PARA)	$13.66	+4.9%
2. Valero Energy (VLO)	$142.06	+4.3
3. WestRock (WRK)	$34.57	+4.0
4. Hilton Worldwide (HLT)	$154.12	+3.9
5. Expedia Group (EXPE)	$109.80	+3.8
6. Lincoln National (LNC)	$25.67	+3.7
7. CF Industries (CF)	$83.74	+3.6
8. Keycorp (KEY)	$11.25	+3.3
9. Zions Bancorp. (ZION)	$34.92	+3.1
10. International Paper (IP)	$34.63	+3.1

Worst performers

S&P 500 COMPANIES	CLOSE	CHANGE
1. Insulet Corp. (PODD)	$171.92	−3.7%
2. Revvity (RVTY)	$106.83	−3.1
3. Zebra Technologies Co. (ZBRA)	$256.37	−3.0
4. Deere & Co (DE)	$399.66	−2.9
5. Bio-Techne (TECH)	$71.82	−2.9
6. ETSY (ETSY)	$67.13	−2.8
7. Bio-Rad Laboratories (BIO)	$357.91	−2.7
8. Mettler-Toledo Intl (MTD)	$1,130.70	−2.7
9. Old Dominion Freight Line (ODFL)	$421.25	−2.7
10. Edwards Lifesciences (EW)	$74.07	−2.7

Most active

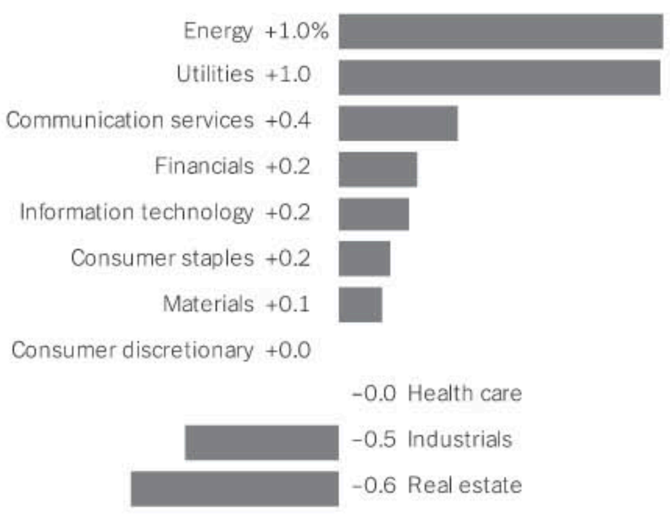
S&P 500 COMPANIES	CLOSE	CHANGE	VOLUME IN MIL.
1. Tesla (TSLA)	$248.50	−1.2%	118
2. Apple (AAPL)	$178.18	+0.3	65
3. Kenvue (KVUE)	$21.30	+1.5	59
4. Ford Motor (F)	$12.30	+2.8	49
5. Advanced Micro Devices (AMD)	$106.09	−0.5	46
6. NVIDIA (NVDA)	$455.72	−1.4	45
7. Intel Corp (INTC)	$38.01	−0.4	44
8. Bank of America (BAC)	$28.36	+0.8	36
9. Amazon.com (AMZN)	$138.23	+0.3	36
10. CSX (CSX)	$29.95	+1.6	33

World stocks

	TOTAL RETURN 1 YR	TOTAL RETURN 5 YRS	TOTAL ASSETS IN BIL.
1. Vanguard Total International Stock Index Fund Institutional Shares (VTSNX)	+12.1%	+3.5%	378.0
2. Vanguard Developed Markets Index Fund Investor Shares (VDVIX)	+15.8	+4.0	167.4
3. American Funds EuroPacific Growth Fund Class R-6 (RERGX)	+14.1	+4.1	134.7
4. Vanguard FTSE All-World ex-US Index Fund Institutional Plus Shares (VFWPX)	+12.5	+3.7	50.7
5. Dodge & Cox International Stock Fund Class X (DOXFX)	+18.6	+5.1	47.5
6. Vanguard International Growth Fund Investor Shares (VWIGX)	+9.8	+5.8	43.5
7. Fidelity International Index Fund (FSPSX)	+18.7	+4.3	42.1
8. Fidelity Series Global ex U.S. Index Fund (FSGEX)	+12.5	+3.4	37.7
9. MFS International Diversification Fund Class R6 (MDIZX)	+14.3	+4.7	37.0
10. Goldman Sachs GQG Partners International Opportunities Fund Class A (GSIHX)	+15.3	+7.7	29.8

Source: Morningstar

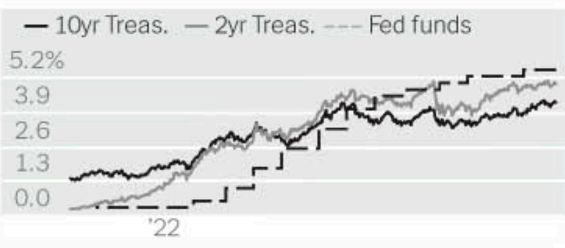
Sector performance
S&P 500 SECTORS

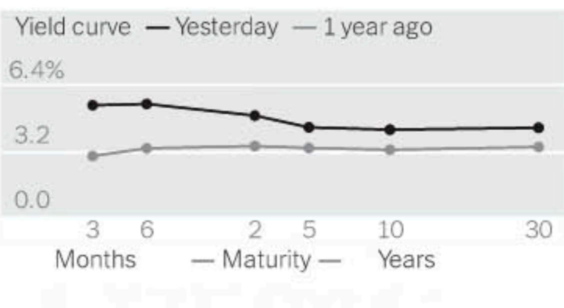


How stock markets fared yesterday in Asia ... **... in Europe** **... and North America**

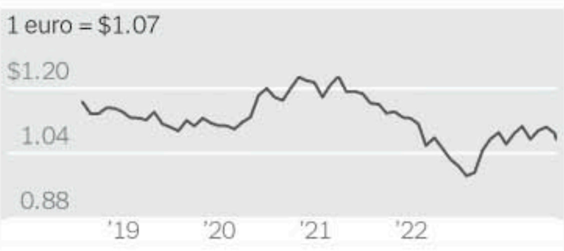
What Is Happening in Other Markets and the Economy

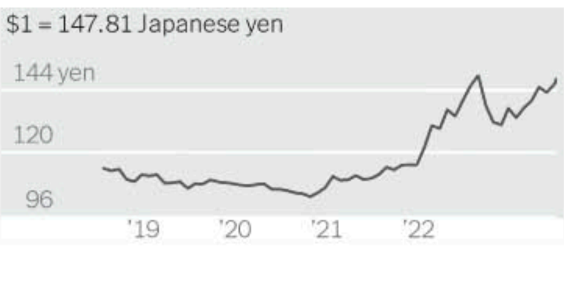
Bonds



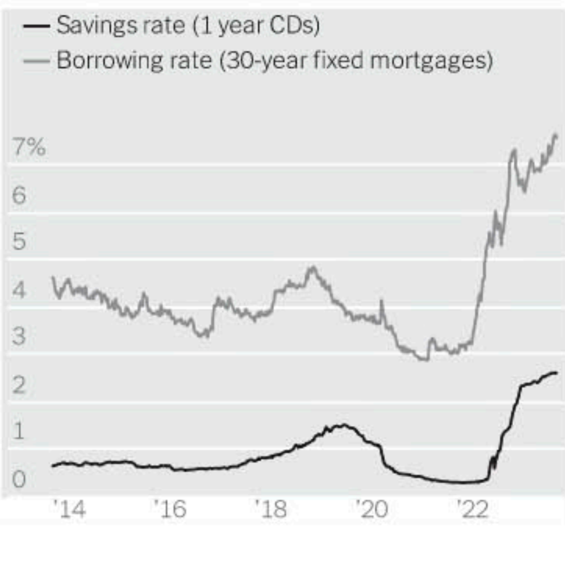


Currencies

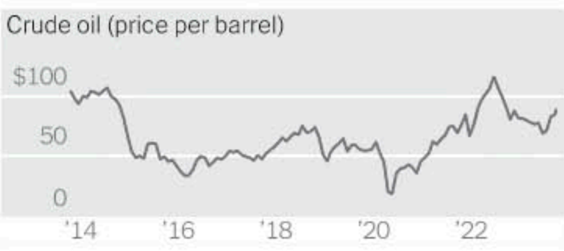


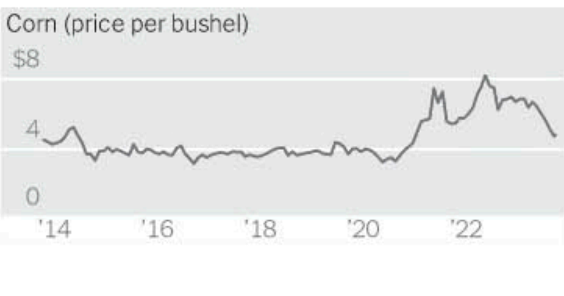


Consumer rates

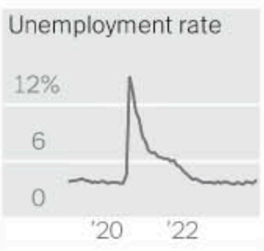


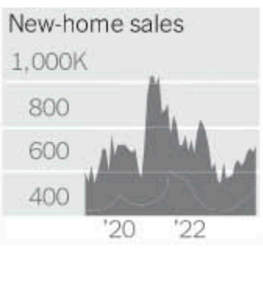
Commodities

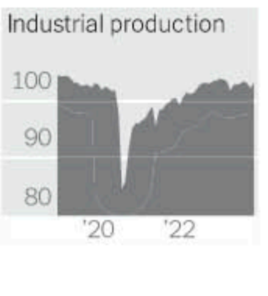




Economy







INTERNATIONAL | WAR IN UKRAINE | ENERGY

Doing Business in China Carries Its Risks, but So Does Retreating

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

actions by the U.S. government to steer technology and investment to other markets."

The stance of U.S. officials, whose sentiment has turned against China, also complicates matters. Pursuing a business-as-usual approach to China can mean being summoned by U.S. lawmakers. "You're in the hot seat if you say anything positive about China," said Jon Mills, a spokesman for Cummins, a century-old American multinational that makes engines.

The scrutiny comes with reputational and legal consequences. A special House committee on competition with China, headed by Representative Mike Gallagher, Republican of Wisconsin, has subpoena powers and political sway. And the committee isn't the only voice calling for China partnerships to be scuttled.

A deal by Ford Motor to license electric battery technology from a Chinese company for a plant in Michigan was a "Trojan horse" for the Chinese Communist Party, according to Virginia's Republican governor, Glenn Youngkin, who had blocked Ford from setting up in the state.

Moderna's decision to research, develop and manufacture mRNA medicines in China was a "betrayal of the American taxpayers whose hard-earned dollars made this technology possible," according to Senator Marco Rubio, Republican of Florida.

And plans by Tesla to build a factory for large-scale batteries in Shanghai raised questions from Mr. Gallagher about whether Tesla was dependent on "access to the Chinese market."

Companies are trying to balance the political scrutiny with a belief that if they don't compete and collaborate on research and innovation with Chinese firms, they risk falling behind because Chinese competitors will beat them in global markets.

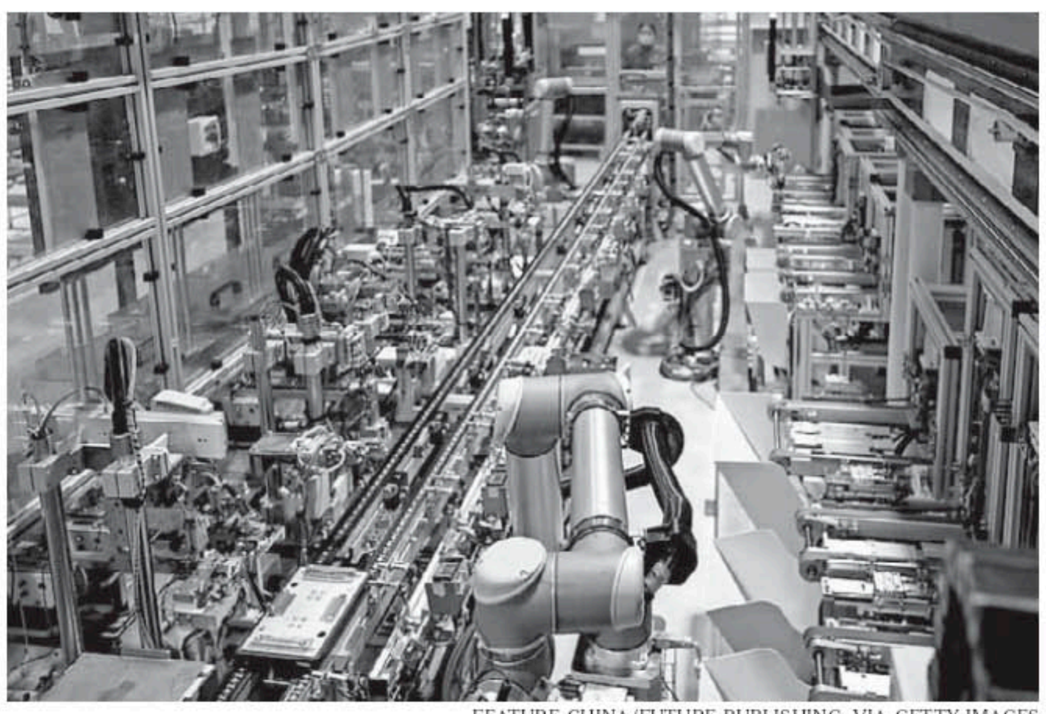
Instead of putting more operations in China and risking criticism at home, Ford structured its recent partnership with China's Contemporary Amperex Technology Company Limited, also known as CATL, so that Ford could own and run its battery plant in Michigan. The automaker said the arrangement would create 2,500 jobs. The $3.5 billion factory will use technology from CATL, the world's biggest maker of electric vehicle batteries, to "help us build more E.V.s faster," said William Clay Ford Jr., Ford's executive chairman.

Nevertheless, Republican lawmakers have said they are investigating the agreement over concerns that CATL has ties to Xinjiang, the region in western China where the United Nations has pinpointed systemic human rights violations.

When it comes to pharma, China has made it clear that it wants companies to change the way they have traditionally operated, by teaming up with local scientists and investing in research, instead of just bringing foreign developed drugs into the market.

For Moderna, China's large base of patients, deep pockets for pharmaceutical research and resources for clinical trials probably contributed to its decision to collaborate, less than a year after it was reported that Moderna had refused China's request to hand over intellectual property behind its Covid vaccine. Moderna is facing waning demand for the vaccine, the company's only commercially viable product, and being in China allows it to work on other vaccines that use the mRNA technology in one of the world's largest pharmaceutical markets.

J. SCOTT APPLEWHITE/ASSOCIATED PRESS



FEATURE CHINA/FUTURE PUBLISHING, VIA GETTY IMAGES

A special House committee on competition with China, led by Representative Mike Gallagher of Wisconsin, has called for China partnerships to be scuttled. At right, a subsidiary in Wuhan, China, of Cummins Inc., a manufacturer of engines, generators and auto components.

The government controlled by Xi Jinping has pulled China's focus sharply inward in his decade as top leader. "Structurally, the positioning is very different from previous administrations," said Helen Chen, a managing partner at L.E.K. Consulting. "There is quite an importance for China to rise, so what does that mean for western companies?"

Even if executives wanted to decouple, as some American lawmakers are pushing for, many companies say it is unreasonable. Cutting China operations is not feasible, said Mr. Mills of Cummins. The manufacturer of engines, generators and auto components has 21 factories in China, and earns about a fifth of its profit in the country.

"Our success in China has led to global success and U.S. job growth," he added.

It's a sentiment that other companies share.

"I think what is important for the American people to understand is that the relationship with China, we have to find a way to get along," said Greg Hayes, the chief executive of RTX, an aerospace and defense contractor formerly known as Raytheon, speaking to CNBC earlier this year. Pulling supply chains out of China, where it has two subsidiaries making commercial engines, aviation systems and cabins, would be impractical, Mr. Hayes said. The market is "too big, too important and too necessary to the U.S. economy."

'You're in the hot seat if you say anything positive about China.'

Jon Mills, a spokesman for Cummins, a century-old American multinational manufacturer with 21 factories in China.

But fierce competition and the mounting geopolitical, strategic and financial costs to doing business have chipped away at the excitement that corporate America once had for China.

And as China confronts the biggest threat to its economy in decades, many multinationals are searching for growth in other parts of the world, said Mr. Brilliant of Dentons Global Advisors-ASG, who was previously the executive vice president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

"With the degree of uncertainty hanging over China's economic direction, it would be malpractice for corporate executives to stand pat," he said.

Musk Acknowledged Thwarting Ukraine Drone Attack

*This article is by **Victoria Kim**, **Richard Pérez-Peña** and **Andrew E. Kramer**.*

Elon Musk foiled an attack on Russia's Black Sea fleet last year by refusing to let Ukraine use his satellite network to guide its drones, Mr. Musk has acknowledged, provoking a furious response from a top official in Kyiv and renewing questions about the global power wielded by a multibillionaire businessman.

Ukraine's military forces have relied heavily on the Starlink satellites owned by Mr. Musk's SpaceX company for communications since Russia disabled Ukraine's internet services as part of its invasion in early 2022. But Mr. Musk would not allow the network to be used for an attack last September with maritime drones on the Russian naval base at Sevastopol in Crimea, the Ukrainian territory that Russia illegally seized in 2014 and then annexed.

At the time of the attempted attack, Mr. Musk spoke with the Russian ambassador to the United States, Anatoly I. Antonov, who had told him an attack on Crimea "could lead to a nuclear response," according to a biography of Mr. Musk by the historian and journalist Walter Isaacson. Copies of the book were obtained by The New York Times from a bookstore on Friday, though it is not set to go on sale until Tuesday. The account was included in an excerpt from the book published on Thursday by The Washington Post.

Mr. Musk confirmed elements of the story, writing on his social network X, formerly Twitter, "If I had agreed to their request, then SpaceX would be explicitly complicit in a major act of war and conflict escalation."

Within days of Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine in February 2022, Mr. Musk began sending Starlink terminals to the country — eventually more than 42,000 of them — in response to public pleas from Ukrainian officials. Throughout the war, the connectivity provided by Starlink has been pivotal for Ukraine's military to coordinate drone strikes and gather intelligence, and it has also aided hospitals, businesses and aid organizations across Ukraine.

Mr. Isaacson's account left several questions unanswered, including who had initiated the call between Mr. Musk and Mr. Antonov, and whether Mr. Musk had revealed the planned attack to the Russian ambassador. The book says that Mr. Musk consulted with Jake Sullivan, President Biden's national security adviser, and Gen. Mark A. Milley, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, but not whether the American officials urged him to allow the attack to proceed.

LYNSEY ADDARIO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Using a Starlink satellite antenna for internet connection in Ukraine last year. The nation's military has relied heavily on the Elon Musk-owned Starlink.

Mr. Musk disputed one part of the account by Mr. Isaacson, who reported that Mr. Musk had instructed Starlink "engineers to turn off coverage within 100 kilometers of the Crimean coast." Mr. Musk said there had never been such coverage. The request he turned down, he said, was to extend the network's range to allow the attack.

Ukrainian and U.S. officials have long been uneasy with the vital position in Ukraine held by Mr. Musk, reportedly the wealthiest person in the world. He has acknowledged for months being in contact with Russian as well as Ukrainian officials, raising concerns about his being influenced by the Kremlin's view. He is also known for his unpredictability and has suggested elements of a peace settlement to the war that officials in Kyiv have dismissed as capitulation to aggression.

Mr. Musk said last October that he could not "indefinitely" finance Ukraine's use of Starlink, then abruptly reversed course. The Pentagon later began paying at least part of the cost of the service. But because Starlink is a commercial product rather than a traditional defense contractor, Mr. Musk is able to make decisions that may not be aligned with U.S. interests, analysts have said.

Ukraine has no alternative to his satellite network, potentially giving him enormous power over the course of the war, just as the U.S. government has no alternative to SpaceX for some of its efforts to launch satellites and people into orbit. Ukraine has consulted other satellite internet providers, but no other services come close to Starlink's reach.

Russia uses its ships to launch cruise missiles at Ukraine, often at civilian targets, and some Ukrainians insisted on Friday that an attack on the Black Sea fleet was little more than an act of self-defense.

Mykhailo Podolyak, a top adviser to President Volodymyr Zelensky, accused Mr. Musk of enabling Russian aggression. Because of Mr. Musk's decision, "civilians, children are being killed," he wrote on X on Thursday. "This is the price of a cocktail of ignorance and big ego."

As long ago as February, Mr. Musk said that his company would not allow use of Starlink for long-range strikes by Ukraine, and a SpaceX executive said that Starlink had taken steps to curtail Ukraine's use of the technology to control drones, infuriating Ukrainian officials.

Some sophisticated drones rely on satellite links for navigation, either autonomously or steered by a remote operator. Without that, the drones used in the attempted Sevastopol attack "washed ashore harmlessly," Mr. Isaacson wrote.

The book quotes Mr. Musk as saying: "I think if the Ukrainian attacks had succeeded in sinking the Russian fleet, it would have been like a mini Pearl Harbor and led to a major escalation. We did not want to be a part of that."

In July, The Times reported on Mr. Musk's refusal to allow the service to work near Crimea, and the broader challenges Ukrainian officials were facing because of the country's dependence on Starlink.

Ukrainian troops use Starlink to communicate on encrypted messaging apps like Signal, to send each other live drone videos, to run a Ukrainian networked battlefield awareness app called Delta, and to unwind in their down time, browsing the internet and talking to loved ones.

On the Ukrainian side, the diminutive Starlink antennas, draped in camouflage nets, cables snaking back to a battery and internet router, are found in forests and fields, mounted on the roofs of trucks or propped up on sidewalks in frontline villages.

The system has increased the lethality of Ukrainian artillery strikes. Before Starlink turned up, spotters with binoculars or flying drones would radio coordinates to a commander, who would decide whether to strike, then radio an artillery unit.

With Starlink, artillery teams, commanders and drone pilots can all watch video feeds simultaneously while chatting online, cutting the time from finding a target to hitting it from nearly 20 minutes to a minute or so, soldiers have said in interviews.

"Starlink is indeed the blood of our entire communication infrastructure now," Mykhailo Fedorov, Ukraine's digital minister, told The Times in a recent interview.

An Offshore Wind Auction Fails to Attract Any Bidders

By STANLEY REED

LONDON — The British government said Friday that no offshore wind developers had offered a bid in its latest auction of renewable energy contracts, dealing the latest in a series of setbacks to what has been the country's flagship renewable energy technology. Developers stayed away because the minimum price support being offered was not high enough.

The news, which was expected, produced criticism from the opposition Labour Party and environmental groups. Ed Miliband, Labour's spokesman for energy, told the BBC on Friday that the results were an "absolute disaster" that the government should have foreseen.

Why It Matters: Wind developers say they are facing steep costs.

The failed auction is the latest blow to offshore wind, a technology that governments and utilities in Europe and the United States are betting on to deliver large amounts of clean electric power to tackle climate change. The British government, for instance, aims to triple offshore generating capacity by 2030.

Hit with rising costs on all aspects of offshore wind farms, from wind turbines to steel and copper, developers are signaling that they need higher revenues to make the projects financially viable.

So far, governments have largely declined to change their terms, so a kind of developers' strike has set in that is likely to delay projects or even lead to some being scrapped.

The costs of electric power from offshore wind, which have declined sharply over the last two decades, also seem likely to rise.

All that said, the auction was not as much of a disaster as portrayed by critics. Deepa Venkateswaran, an analyst at Bernstein, a research firm, said eligibility criteria and other considerations had made very few developers likely to participate in this round anyway.

The British auction did attract bidders for onshore wind and solar schemes.

Behind the Story: A system to spur investment may need an update.

Britain supports renewable energy through a subsidy system known as "contracts for difference." In essence, developers are guaranteed to be paid a certain price — an estimated 69 pounds per megawatt-hour in this case — for the power that their projects generate.

These guarantees are intended to give companies certainty and encourage financial institutions to put up the large sums, ranging well into billions of dollars, required to build big wind farms.

Until recently, the British system received good reviews and helped encourage large investments in renewable energy.

More recently, though, with inflation soaring, the government's efforts to use the scheme to drive down power prices for consumers have caused developers to back away.

Vattenfall, a major developer, put a large planned project in the North Sea on hold this year, saying costs were rising as much as 40 percent.

The problem is not limited to Europe. Offshore developers are also trying to renegotiate the terms of contracts to supply power in the United States. Some have been willing to scrap contracts and absorb the resulting financial penalties.

Recently, Orsted, the largest offshore wind developer, announced a potential $2 billion write-down on planned projects in the United States and warned that it could cancel them.

What's Next: 'We will work with industry,' the U.K. government says.

Analysts say this series of problems for a much promoted technology is likely to push governments to revise the terms of future auctions. In Britain, the failure "puts pressure on the U.K. government to change auction parameters" said Ms. Venkateswaran, the Bernstein analyst.

The government does seem chastened by the tarnishing of an industry that is seen in Britain as a major success.

"We will work with industry to make sure we retain our global leadership in this vital technology," the British government said in a news release on Friday.

The sputtering of government support systems may also encourage a shift away from subsidy regimes, some analysts say.

SOCIAL MEDIA | LABOR | COMPANIES

Appeals Court Rules the White House Overstepped the First Amendment

By STEVEN LEE MYERS

A federal appeals court ruled on Friday that the Biden administration most likely overstepped the First Amendment by urging the major social media platforms to remove misleading or false content about the Covid-19 pandemic, partly upholding a lower court's preliminary injunction in a victory for conservatives.

The ruling, by a three-judge panel of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit in New Orleans, was another twist in a First Amendment case that has challenged the government's ability to combat false and misleading narratives about the pandemic, voting rights and other issues that spread on social media.

The judges wrote that the White House and the Office of the Surgeon General had "coerced the platforms to make their moderation decisions by way of intimidating messages and threats of adverse consequences" and "significantly encouraged the platforms' decisions by commandeering their decision-making processes."

The appellate court also found that the Federal Bureau of Investigation had used coercion in its interactions with the companies, which took down 50 percent of the material online that the bureau's agents flagged as troublesome.

"Given the record before us, we cannot say that the F.B.I.'s messages were plainly threatening in tone or manner," the judges wrote. Nevertheless, "we do find the F.B.I.'s requests came with the backing of clear authority over the platforms."

The court limited the scope of a preliminary injunction, which prohibited officials from numerous agencies from having practically any contact with the social media companies. Instead, the court narrowed the impact to the White House, the Surgeon General's Office, the F.B.I., and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

The White House defended its interactions with social media companies and said the Department of Justice was reviewing the ruling and would consider options for responding.

"This administration has promoted responsible actions to protect public health, safety and security when confronted by challenges like a deadly pandemic and foreign attacks on our elections," the White House said in a statement. "Our consistent view remains that social media platforms have a critical responsibility to take account of the effects their platforms are having on the American people but make independent choices about the information they present."

Jenin Younes, a lawyer with the New Civil Liberties Alliance, an organization representing individual plaintiffs in the case, called the decision on Friday "a major and unprecedented victory."

"This might be the most significant First Amendment case in the internet age and is a crucial outcome for flourishing of free speech in an era when social media has become the modern public square," she said.

The attorneys general of Missouri and Louisiana, both Republicans, argued in a lawsuit filed last year that government agencies and officials — including some working in the administration of President Donald J. Trump — had abused their authority by coercing companies like Facebook, Twitter (now called X) and YouTube to silence critics.

Judge Terry A. Doughty of U.S. District Court for the Western District of Louisiana agreed, ordering a preliminary injunction against the government. In a ruling issued on July 4, he said the accusations in the lawsuit arguably involved "the most massive attack against free speech in United States' history."

KENT NISHIMURA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A three-judge panel ruled that government restrictions with social media companies still apply to the White House.

On the question of First Amendment protections, the three-judge panel of the appellate court, which last month temporarily froze Judge Doughty's injunction, largely agreed.

The debate over how far companies can go to limit content online — known as moderation — has become increasingly vehement and polarizing. On one side, government officials have argued that they have a duty to protect public health and national security from false or misleading information. Republicans and others, however, have accused the social media giants of colluding with government officials in violation of First Amendment protections of free speech.

They have focused their anger at the Biden administration even though previous administrations regularly had contacts with social media companies and some of the instances cited in the lawsuit occurred during the Trump administration.

Yoel Roth, the former head of trust and safety at Twitter, noted recently that Mr. Trump's White House had asked the company in 2019 to remove a tweet in which the model Chrissy Teigen called the president several expletives. (The company did not, after what Mr. Roth called Kafkaesque internal deliberations.)

Government officials have long argued that they do not have the authority to order posts or entire accounts removed from the platforms, which private companies control. They have worked with the tech giants, however, to take action against illegal or harmful material, especially in cases involving child sexual abuse, human trafficking and other criminal activity.

That has also included regular meetings to share information on the Islamic State and other terrorist groups. Many of the cases cited in the legal challenge involved the Covid pandemic, when government officials feared that misinformation and disinformation about vaccines and other treatments hampered efforts to control the spread of the coronavirus, which has killed more than 1.1 million Americans.

Although Republicans have led the charge, the argument that the government has overstepped its constitutional authority to police content online has raised concerns across the political spectrum. It has drawn support from others who complain about the role of social media giants in moderating content on their platforms, including hate speech and misinformation and disinformation.

Robert F. Kennedy Jr., the challenger for the Democratic presidential nomination and promoter of a number of conspiracy theories, filed a similar lawsuit, which was consolidated into the Missouri case. He argued that government officials had forced platforms to remove accounts, including his.

"Never in the history of this country have federal officials worked so blatantly in collusion with industry to silence the voices that question government agendas," Mr. Kennedy, who leads the Children's Health Defense, an anti-vaccine organization, said in a statement ahead of the appellate hearing in New Orleans.

Other groups weighed in on the side of the government, arguing that the lower court's injunction would interfere with the free speech of researchers or others who called the attention of the government and the companies to harmful material on their platforms.

The Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under the Law, an advocacy group, argued in an amicus brief to the appellate court that the judge's injunction was so broadly and vaguely written that it would "chill critical information sharing" among researchers, companies and government officials before the 2024 presidential election.

"In the United States, malicious actors have repeatedly deployed election falsehoods to confuse and deter voters," the group argued. "This threat persists as a new presidential election approaches."

Contract Deadline Near, Union and Automakers Still Far Apart in Talks

By NEAL E. BOUDETTE

The United Auto Workers union and the three established U.S. automakers remain far apart on wages and other issues with less than a week to go before contracts covering 150,000 union workers expire.

So far, the companies — General Motors, Ford Motor and Stellantis, the parent of Chrysler — have offered to raise pay by 14 percent to 16 percent over four years. Their offers include lump sum payments to help ease the impact of inflation, and policy changes that would lift the pay of recent hires and temporary workers, who typically earn about a third less than veteran union members.

Companies have offered about a 16% raise; a union is seeking closer to 40%.

But the union's combative new president, Shawn Fain, has dismissed the offers as "insulting," noting that the three manufacturers have been making near-record profits for almost a decade, and that pay packages of top executives have increased substantially. He has been seeking pay increases of about 40 percent and repeatedly warned that workers were ready to leave assembly lines when the current collective bargaining agreements with the automakers expire on Thursday.

Mr. Fain has said the union is willing to strike at all three automakers simultaneously, a step it has never taken before. An across-the-board stoppage would deal a big blow to the economies of Michigan and other states.

"We aren't going to stand by and allow them to drag out the negotiations like they've done in the past," Mr. Fain said Friday in a video on Facebook. "If we hit 11:59 on Thursday without a deal at any of the Big Three automakers, there will be a strike — at all three if need be."

The talks are taking place during a sweeping shift from combustion engine cars and trucks to electric vehicles, which require fewer parts and less labor to produce. U.A.W. leaders and members are increasingly worried that the transition will eliminate jobs and, over time, reduce wages and benefits.

The automakers are also worried about the transition. G.M., Ford and Stellantis are spending tens of billions of dollars to build new factories and scour the world for battery raw materials like lithium. Company executives have argued that offering the U.A.W. members big raises could leave them at a significant cost disadvantage to Tesla, which dominates the U.S. electric car market and employs nonunion workers.

The auto industry is the largest U.S. manufacturing sector, and accounts for about 3 percent of the nation's economic output. The three Detroit automakers operate dozens of plants that make about 500,000 cars a month.

The Anderson Economic Group, a research firm in East Lansing, Mich., estimated that a 10-day strike against the three companies would reduce the companies' profits by $1 billion and wages by $900 million for U.A.W. members and workers employed by other companies that depend on the automakers.

BILL PUGLIANO/GETTY IMAGES

United Auto Workers members marching in a Labor Day Parade in Detroit. A contract covering 150,000 union workers will expire on Thursday.

Aside from wages, the union and the companies remain far apart on several other matters, including measures to preserve jobs and discourage the closing of U.S. plants, increases in retirement benefits and cost-of-living adjustments, which were once standard in U.A.W. contracts.

The union has made some progress in its discussions with Ford. In response to Mr. Fain's demands, the automaker offered to increase wages by about 15 percent, through a 9 percent increase in base wages and one-time lump sum payments of $11,000 per worker. While Mr. Fain rejected that, the two sides have continued bargaining. He was scheduled to update U.A.W. members later on Friday about Ford's latest offer.

Talks with G.M. and Stellantis have proceeded more slowly. The U.A.W. filed a complaint last week with the National Labor Relations Board, saying the two manufacturers had refused to offer proposals in response to the union's demands and were not negotiating in good faith.

G.M. responded by offering a combination of base wage increases and lump sum payments that would lift worker pay by about 16 percent. "We have already said we want to reward and recognize our employees with wage increases," Gerald Johnson, G.M.'s executive vice president for global manufacturing, said this week.

Agreeing to all of the union's demands would threaten G.M.'s ability to compete, he added.

Mr. Fain said the wage offer didn't go far enough to make up for the impact of inflation on workers' take-home pay over the last decade, and was too little in light of the profits G.M. was making. The automaker reported profits of $7 billion in the first half of the year. Mr. Fain also complained that G.M. had rejected the union's proposals on job security, retiree pay, cost-of-living adjustments and other issues.

Stellantis submitted its proposal to the union Friday morning, offering a 14.5 percent rise in base wages with no lump-sum payments.

"This is a responsible and strong offer that positions us to continue providing good jobs to our employees," Mark Stewart, the chief operating officer of Stellantis's North American operations, said in a statement. "With this offer, we are seeking a timely resolution to our discussions."

Stellantis, which is based in Amsterdam and was created by the merger of Fiat Chrysler and Peugeot in 2021, earned 11 billion euros ($12 billion) in the first half of the year, a record.

Kroger Agrees to Pay $1.2 Billion to Settle Claims That It Helped Fuel the Opioid Crisis

By REBECCA ROBBINS

The grocery chain Kroger said on Friday that it had agreed to pay about $1.2 billion to states, local governments and Native American tribes to settle claims that its retail pharmacies played a role in fueling the opioid crisis.

Kroger, which was accused of improperly monitoring prescriptions of highly addictive painkillers filled in its store pharmacies, said it would pay the settlement over 11 years, beginning in December. The company said legal fees, which will be paid over six years, would add $177 million to the total.

Kroger said it was not admitting wrongdoing by reaching the settlement.

Background: Pharmacy chains have been settling opioid claims.

Kroger is the latest in a growing group of pharmaceutical manufacturers, distributors and pharmacy chains that have agreed to large settlements with state and local governments that accused them of seeding a public health disaster.

Three large pharmacy chains that compete with Kroger — Walgreens, CVS Health and Walmart — reached similar settlements last year totaling about $13 billion. Another, Rite Aid, has not yet announced a nationwide settlement.

The claims against Kroger and its competitors have focused on the role of their pharmacies in flooding communities with legal painkillers. In lawsuits against Kroger, the attorneys general in Washington State and West Virginia accused it of failing to investigate overprescribing and of withholding data from its pharmacists that could help them safely dispense the pills.

Why It Matters: Opioid settlement money is funding recovery efforts.

As other opioid settlement payments have begun to be disbursed, states, municipal governments and Native American tribes have said they are using the money to fund services for opioid abuse victims and to buy drugs to reverse opioid overdoses.

The attorney general of North Carolina, Josh Stein, who helped lead the negotiations with Kroger, said in a statement on Friday that Kroger's settlement "will help save lives, and we will make sure these companies can't repeat their mistakes."

NIC ANTAYA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The grocery chain had been accused of improperly monitoring prescriptions of highly addictive opioids filled in its pharmacies.

What's Next: A grocery mega merger.

Kroger, which operates stores in different parts of the country under grocery brands like Harris Teeter and Ralphs, has been trying to complete a merger with another chain, Albertsons, announced last year. Kroger said on Friday that the opioid settlement agreement would not impede the merger.

Kroger said on Friday that it planned to divest more than 400 stores, primarily in Western states, in an effort to assuage concerns from antitrust regulators.

Jan Hoffman contributed reporting.

MEDIA | WORKPLACE

'Dumb Money' Lampoons Wall Street Titans With a Knowing Eye

SONY PICTURES

In the film, Nick Offerman, left, plays Kenneth C. Griffin, the Citadel kingpin, and Seth Rogen portrays Gabe Plotkin, whose hedge fund lost billions.

GREGOR FISCHER/PICTURE ALLIANCE, VIA GETTY IMAGES

Teddy Schwarzman, the film's producer, has said he has no desire to make Wall Street look bad.

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

D'Onofrio, sits in a mansion snarfing a club sandwich and snorting with laughter on the phone with Mr. Plotkin, played by Seth Rogen.

"I honestly can't tell if that's you or Romeo," Mr. Plotkin says, referring to Mr. Cohen's pet pig. The camera cuts to the animal. Mr. Cohen gleefully tosses deli meat on the carpet for it to eat.

In a twist that makes "Dumb Money" even more unusual, the film was financed and produced by Teddy Schwarzman, whose father, Stephen A. Schwarzman, is also a Wall Street superpower and the chief executive of Blackstone, the private equity behemoth that has more than $1 trillion under management. Without Teddy Schwarzman's last-minute investment — he stepped in with financing after Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer

The son of a finance superpower rescued the film from limbo.

balked — "Dumb Money" would not exist, according to Rebecca Angelo and Lauren Schuker Blum, former Wall Street Journal reporters who wrote the screenplay and served as executive producers.

"When no one else believed in this film, Teddy came in pretty heroically," Ms. Blum said.

The "Dumb Money" poster depicts stacks of cash styled to look like an obscene hand gesture, along with the words "Dear Wall Street." What does Mr. Schwarzman's father think about this? Moreover, what do the businessmen caricatured in the film think?

"I'm very, very curious as to what they'll say," said Thomas E. Rothman, chairman of Sony's motion picture group, which planned to premiere the R-rated "Dumb Money" on Friday at the Toronto International Film Festival. "I know the movie was meticulously researched." (Translation: Sony's lawyers are ready.)

Stephen Schwarzman declined to comment. So did Mr. Griffin and Mr. Cohen. Mr. Plotkin did not respond to queries.

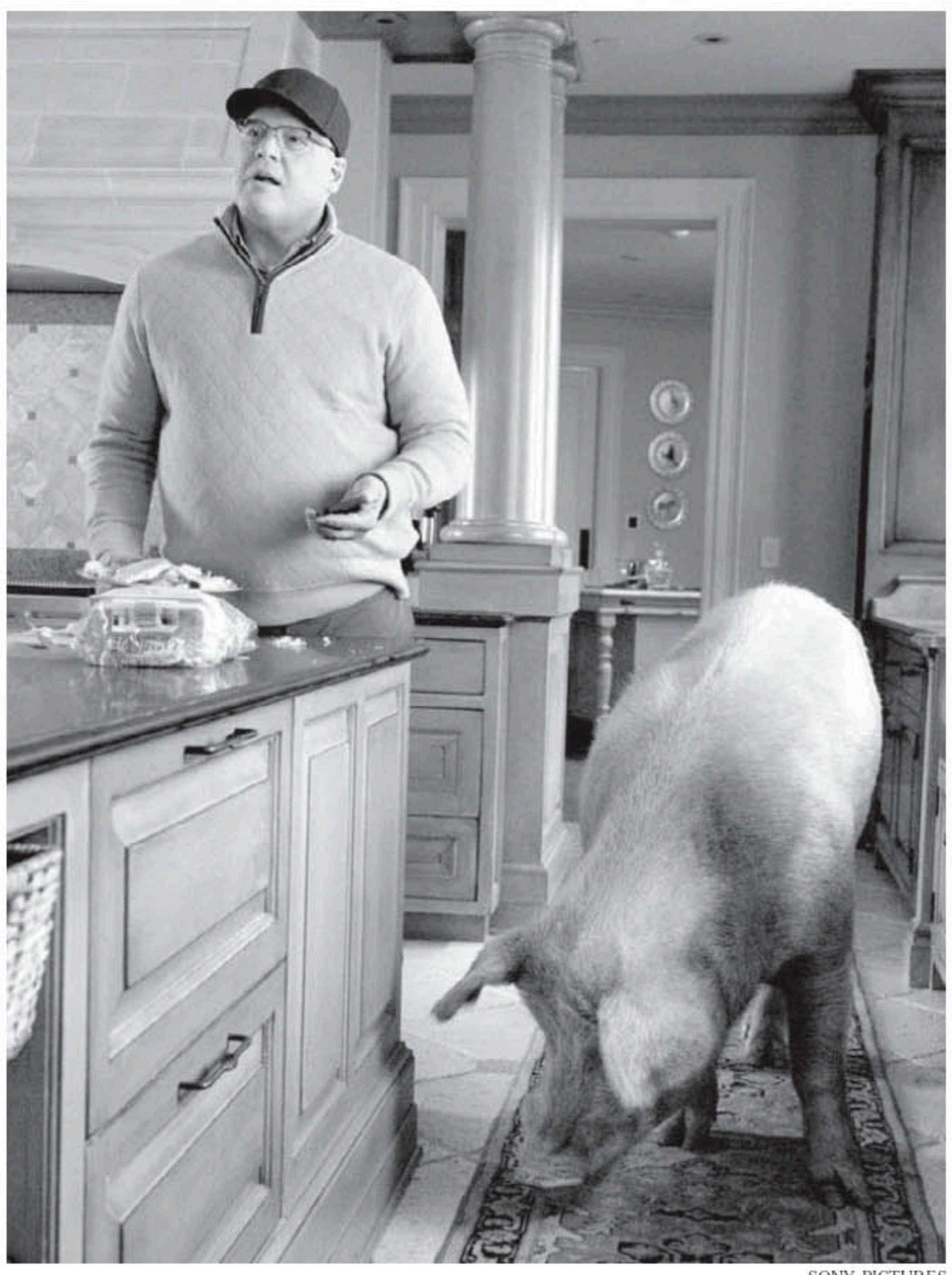
In 2011, Teddy Schwarzman, 44, founded a film company that has since delivered art house hits like "The Imitation Game," which collected $234 million worldwide in 2014 and was nominated for eight Oscars. (The movie won for Graham Moore's screenplay.) In an interview, Mr. Schwarzman insisted he had no particular desire to make Wall Street look bad.

"It's never about my thoughts and my feelings," Mr. Schwarzman said of the films he made. "It's about the material: What is this saying and how effective is it in what it's trying to do? Is this a piece of content that can stand out in the genre that it's in and do something novel and do something special?"

"'Dumb Money' is a comedic and thrilling examination of what's going on in our Main Street versus Wall Street world," he added.

Asked if his father or any other Wall Street figure had reached out to him to complain about "Dumb Money," directly or indirectly, Mr. Schwarzman shook his head no.

Sony, which bought distribution rights to "Dumb Money" from Mr. Schwarzman, plans a slow theatrical rollout for the film starting on Sept. 15. Sony expects "Dumb



SONY PICTURES

SONY PICTURES

The movie tells the story of the frenzy over the troubled video game retailer GameStop. The cast includes Vincent D'Onofrio, left, who plays Steve Cohen, the hedge fund manager and New York Mets owner, and America Ferrera, above, who plays a nurse who got caught up in the craziness.

Money" to play on at least 2,500 screens in the United States and Canada by Sept. 29. A release of that size typically requires a marketing campaign costing more than $20 million. (Sony declined to say how much it will spend.)

It's a big gamble. "The Big Short," the 2015 film about the greedy architects of the 2008 financial crisis, rode five Oscar nominations to $133 million in global ticket sales. (It cost about $28 million to make.) Since then, however, in part because of the pandemic, audiences have grown accustomed to streaming these kinds of films at home, leaving theaters to play mostly big-budget franchise spectacles.

"Originality works in theaters when it has cultural urgency, and there's a tremendous amount in this story that speaks to the particular cultural moment that we're in — the explosion of discontent," Mr. Rothman, the Sony executive, said.

The cast includes Paul Dano, America Ferrera, Pete Davidson, Anthony Ramos and Shailene Woodley. Normally, a cast like this would translate into promotional appearances in settings like "Saturday Night Live," talk shows and social media platforms.

But Hollywood actors are on strike. Their union has banned publicity efforts for virtually all completed films until the stalemate is resolved, and no talks have been scheduled. (Writers are also on strike, with no end in sight. It is not lost on the screenwriters that "Dumb Money," about a populist uprising, is coming out when they have been walking picket lines.)

Familiarity with the GameStop investing saga or even the basics of high finance is not a prerequisite for watching "Dumb Money." The movie unfolds as a relatively simple David-and-Goliath story — set to a sometimes profane hip-hop and rock soundtrack, with actual Reddit threads, TikTok memes and TV news footage occasionally peppering the screen in unconventional ways.

"To quote the great Billy Friedkin, we wanted the movie to feel like a bat out of hell," said Ms. Angelo, the co-writer, referring to the famed director, who died last month.

Mr. Gillespie, the director, is known for quirky, comedic films ("Lars and the Real Girl," 2007) with exuberant pacing ("I, Tonya," 2017) that sometimes teeter toward mockumentary. "Dumb Money" was a unique challenge, he said, because the story is told through a large number of characters, many of whom have lives that never intersect.

"We have 12 different characters plus a complicated backdrop," he said. "The priority was always to strip it back and get to the core of the emotion, which is this frustration and outright outrage at the disparity of wealth that's going on in this country."

The GameStop surge was driven, in part, by boredom. Working at home or being unemployed during the pandemic, neophyte investors opened brokerage accounts and got caught up in endless online hype around certain stocks.

Mr. Gillespie's son Miles was one of the them. "He made like 50 times his investment," Mr. Gillespie said of his son's GameStop bet. "He actually timed it perfectly."

Excited, Mr. Gillespie then put money into the company — just in time for the stock to crash. "My timing was perfectly wrong," he said. Mr. Gillespie declined to say how much he lost. "The point is that I was emotionally invested in this story," he said.

"Dumb Money" got its start in January 2021 when the producer Aaron Ryder ("Arrival") was twiddling his thumbs during a 14-day pandemic quarantine in Canada. He had come across conversations on Reddit about GameStop, and then his phone rang. It was Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, which was owned by Anchorage Capital, a New York investment firm led by Kevin Ulrich. Mr. Ulrich also served as MGM's chairman.

"He thought the GameStop story would make a cool movie," Mr. Ryder recalled.

Mr. Ryder sprang into action. Through a contact, he had heard that Ben Mezrich, who wrote the Facebook origin book that served as source material for the film "The Social Network," was working on a book proposal about the GameStop phenomenon.

"I kind of just begged and pleaded and maybe lied a little bit to try to get a hold of this thing," Mr. Ryder said. He succeeded, and started to put together a creative team, including Ms. Angelo and Ms. Blum, who ultimately based their screenplay on Mr. Mezrich's book "The Antisocial Network: The GameStop Short Squeeze and the Ragtag Group of Amateur Traders That Brought Wall Street to Its Knees."

In spring 2021, however, Anchorage sold MGM to Amazon, and "Dumb Money" was suddenly in limbo. "The project ended up being a bit of an orphan that nobody wanted to own," Mr. Schwarzman said.

At the time, "Dumb Money" was expected to cost as much as $40 million to make. Mr. Ryder and Mr. Schwarzman whittled down the budget and secured tax rebates from New Jersey, where much of the 31-day shoot would take place.

Mr. Schwarzman then sold certain distribution rights to Sony for an estimated $16 million. His company, Black Bear, sold additional rights to overseas distributors, putting the film on solid financial ground before it even arrives in theaters.

The irony is that Mr. Schwarzman is what Hollywood has long called "dumb money," an affluent, often gullible outsider bitten by the movie bug. But he may get the last laugh. As he told The Wall Street Journal in 2013, for an article about Hollywood-bound heirs to family fortunes, "The idea is for dumb money to be smarter."

Fallon Apologizes to Staff After Article Described Show as a 'Toxic Workplace'

By JOHN KOBLIN

Jimmy Fallon, host of "The Tonight Show," apologized to his staff on Thursday afternoon after a news article described the set of his show as being a "toxic workplace."

Mr. Fallon, whose show has not broadcast new episodes for more than four months because of the writers' strike, told the staff during a virtual meeting, "It's embarrassing, and I feel so bad."

The article, published by Rolling Stone, said 14 former staff members and two current employees alleged that Mr. Fallon's "erratic behavior" had helped to fuel an unhealthy work environment.

"If I ever mistreated anybody or made you feel bad, that was not my goal," he said in the meeting, according to a staff member who was present. "I want this show to be fun. It should be inclusive for everybody. It should be funny. It should be the best show, the best people. I just wanted to say I miss you guys."

NBC released a statement on Thursday saying: "We are incredibly proud of 'The Tonight Show,' and providing a respectful working environment is a top priority. As in any workplace, we have had employees raise issues; those have been investigated, and action has been taken where appropriate."

On Friday, a spokeswoman for NBCUniversal said Mr. Fallon and the show were not under investigation because the allegations in the article were years old and had been addressed by the company.

Rolling Stone reported that during a taping with the comedian Jerry Seinfeld, Mr. Fallon had

NBC says that the accusations were from years ago and had been addressed.

scolded a staff member holding a cue card. The article went on to report that Mr. Seinfeld had forced Mr. Fallon to apologize to the employee, and that other staff members had described the moment as "uncomfortable."

Mr. Seinfeld sent a statement to Rolling Stone after the article was published that said: "This is so stupid. I remember this moment quite well. I teased Jimmy about a flub, and we all had a fun laugh about how rarely Jimmy is thrown off. It was not uncomfortable at all. Jimmy and I still occasionally recall it and laugh. Idiotic twisting of events."

Mr. Fallon took over hosting duties of "The Tonight Show," the storied NBC institution that has existed since the 1950s, in 2014. His show immediately scored big ratings, a trend that continued even after CBS installed Stephen Colbert as David Letterman's replacement on "The Late Show" in September 2015.

Mr. Fallon's light-touch approach to the show — with an emphasis on singing, dancing and playing games — seemed to match the national mood.

But not long after Mr. Fallon tousled the hair of Donald J. Trump, who was then a Republican presidential candidate, in a 2016 interview, his show's ratings began to slide.

In early 2017, just as Mr. Trump took over the White House, viewership for Mr. Colbert's "The Late Show" eclipsed "The Tonight Show," as Mr. Colbert and many late-night hosts began delivering pointed political monologues, a course that Mr. Fallon shied from. Though viewership for all late-night shows has fallen in recent years, Mr. Colbert has continued to best Mr. Fallon.

JUTHARAT PINYODOONYACHET FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A report in Rolling Stone said that Jimmy Fallon, host of "The Tonight Show," exhibited "erratic behavior."

During the ratings slide, Mr. Fallon has gone through a number of showrunner changes.

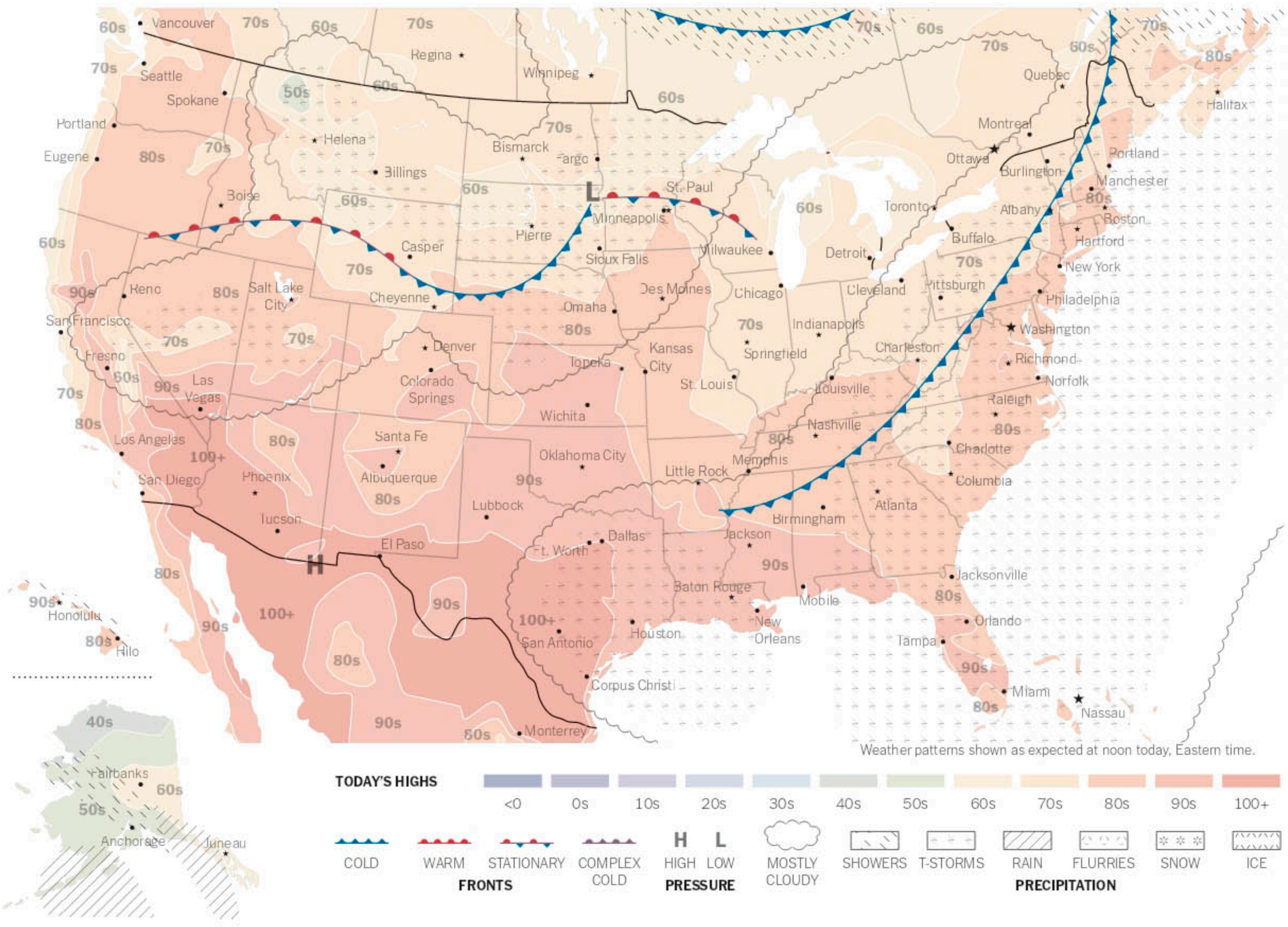
Mr. Fallon, as well as other late-night hosts, including Mr. Colbert, Jimmy Kimmel, Seth Meyers and John Oliver, began broadcasting a podcast together last week called "Strike Force Five." Proceeds from the show are being given to their out-of-work staff members as the writers' strike has kept their shows dark for 129 days and counting.

Chris Miller, who has been the "Tonight Show" showrunner since 2022, sent an email to staff members on Thursday shortly after the Rolling Stone article was published.

"While I know the reporter reached out to many of you before the piece ran, I don't believe what's written is reflective of the overall culture of our extraordinary team that I'm so lucky and proud to work with every day," he wrote. "The place described in the article is not the place I know. Still, it's disappointing to see something published that does not capture the positive and inclusive environment I believe we have created together."

Weather Report

Meteorology by **AccuWeather**



Metropolitan Forecast

TODAY ....Showers, heavy thunderstorms

High 84. As a front stalls over the region, clouds will limit the sunshine and it will be very humid. There will be showers and thunderstorms, especially in the afternoon, when they may bring downpours.

TONIGHT ....Humid, leftover storms

Low 72. It will be mostly cloudy and humid. Thunderstorms will linger overnight, with temperatures above average.

TOMORROW ....Heavy showers, storms

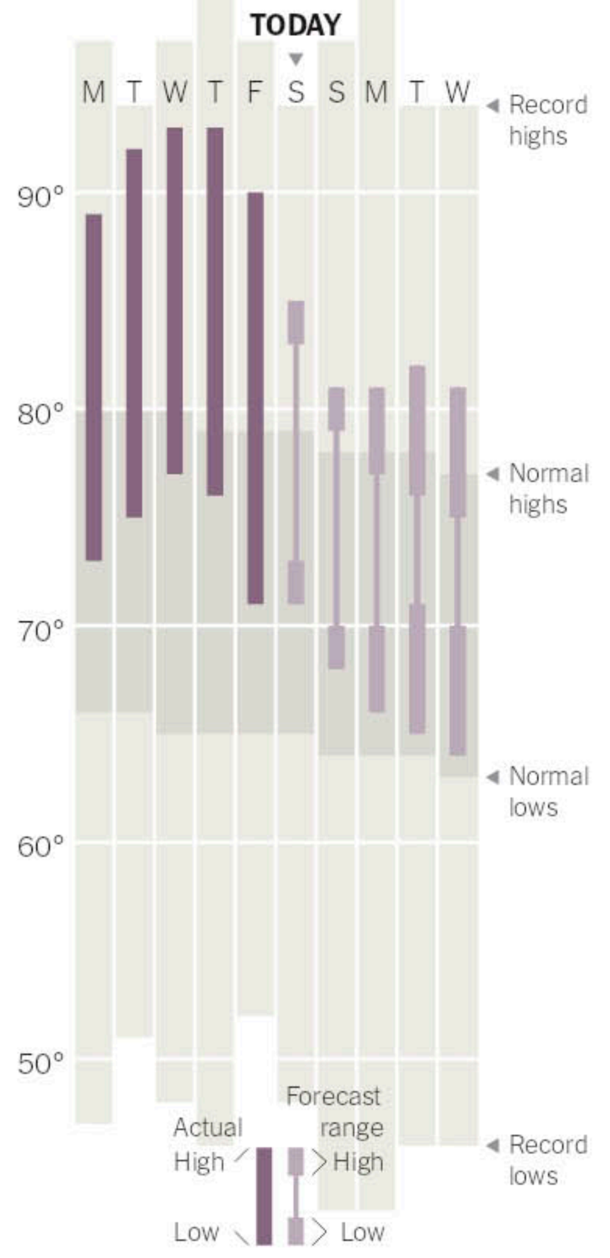
High 80. With the front over the region, it will stay cloudy and humid with showers and thunderstorms moving through. Some thunderstorms will bring downpours that may lead to flooding.

MONDAY ....A few thunderstorms

Unsettled weather will persist, with the sky remaining mostly cloudy and humidity remaining high. More showers and storms can be expected, mainly in the afternoon. High 79.

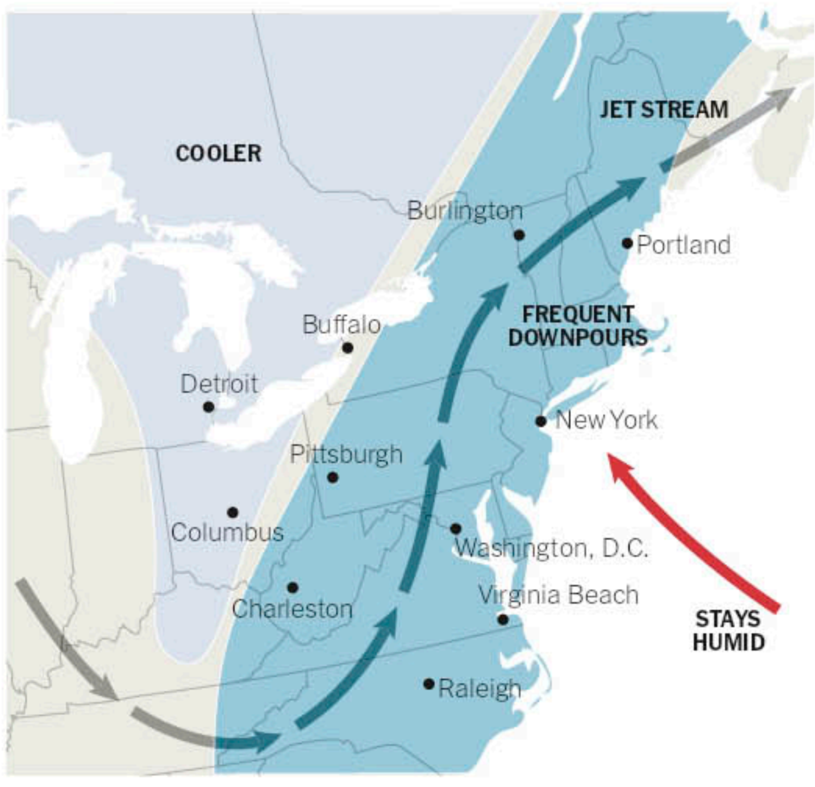
TUESDAY
WEDNESDAY ....Thunderstorms around

On Tuesday, there will be clouds and breaks of sunshine, along with spotty showers. High 79. By Wednesday, more clouds along with showers and thunderstorms can be expected. High 77.



Highlight: Wet Weekend in the Northeast

A surge of warm and moist air up the Eastern Seaboard will combine with a stalled front across the Appalachians this weekend, resulting in widespread showers and thunderstorms. Rainfall may be locally heavy, with the potential for flash flooding. Temperatures will be lower this weekend compared to earlier this week, but the humidity will remain high.



National Forecast

A front meeting warm, humid air will unleash drenching showers and gusty thunderstorms along much of the Eastern Seaboard today. Flash flooding will pose dangers and disruptions to travel.

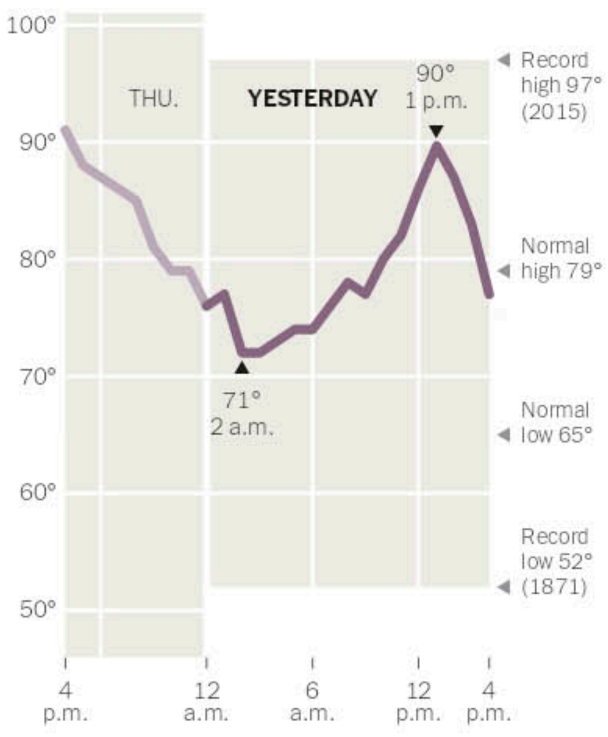
Outdoor plans may be adversely affected. Cooler, less humid air will extend from the Midwest to the Appalachians. Farther west, some of the thunderstorms in parts of Texas, Louisiana, the Northern Plains and Rockies will become severe, with strong gusts and flash flooding.

Heat will hold on in Texas as cool air stretches from the Northwest to the Northern Plains. Meanwhile, Hurricane Lee will cause the surf to build along the East Coast later this weekend.

Metropolitan Almanac

In Central Park, for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday.

Temperature



Avg. daily departure from normal this month .... +6.1°

Avg. daily departure from normal this year .... +2.4°

Reservoir levels (New York City water supply)

Yesterday 92%
Est. normal 81%

Precipitation (in inches)

Yesterday 0.02
Record 4.86

For the last 30 days
Actual 5.45
Normal 4.23

For the last 365 days
Actual 48.82
Normal 49.52

LAST 30 DAYS

Air pressure
High .... 29.98 4 p.m.
Low .... 29.90 3 a.m.

Humidity
High .... 87% 3 a.m.
Low .... 58% 1 p.m.

Cooling Degree Days

An index of fuel consumption that tracks how far the day's mean temperature rose above 65

Yesterday.. 16
So far this month.. 114
So far this season (since January 1) 1132
Normal to date for the season 1111

Trends

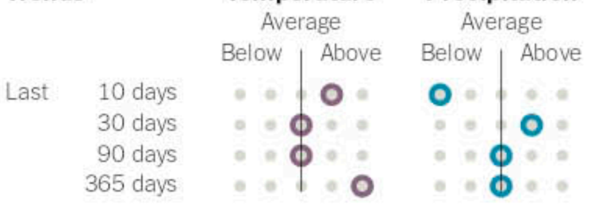


Chart shows how recent temperature and precipitation trends compare with those of the last 30 years.

Recreational Forecast

Sun, Moon and Planets

New	First Quarter	Full	Last Quarter
Sep. 14 9:38 p.m.	Sep. 22	Sep. 29 5:57 a.m.	Oct. 6

Sun	**RISE**	6:30 a.m.	**Moon**	**R**	12:50 a.m.
	SET	7:16 p.m.		**S**	4:56 p.m.
	NEXT R	6:31 a.m.		**R**	1:49 a.m.
Jupiter	**S**	11:35 a.m.	**Mars**	**R**	8:21 a.m.
	R	9:40 p.m.		**S**	8:07 p.m.
Saturn	**S**	5:26 a.m.	**Venus**	**R**	3:55 a.m.
	R	6:46 p.m.		**S**	5:18 p.m.

Boating

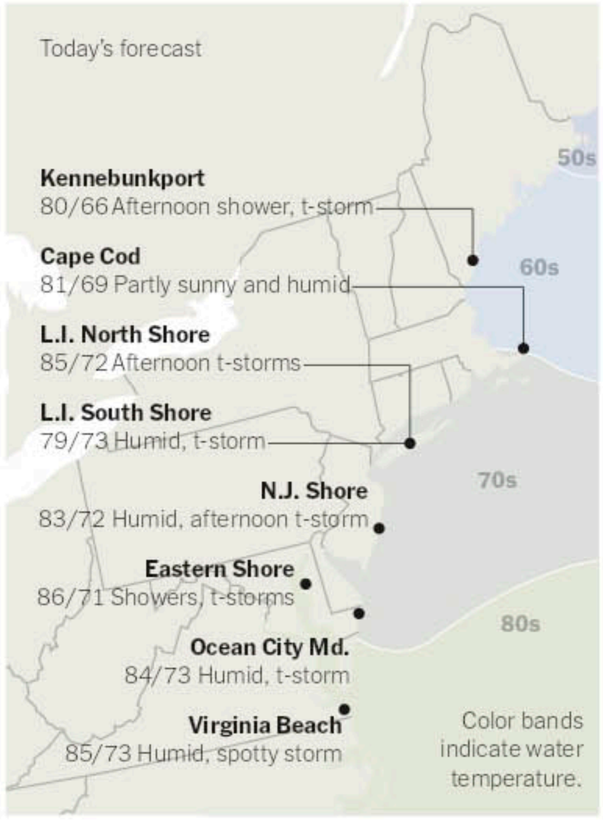
From Montauk Point to Sandy Hook, N.J., out to 20 nautical miles, including Long Island Sound and New York Harbor.

Winds will be out of the south at 5-10 knots. Waves will be 1 foot or less on New York Harbor and Long Island Sound, and 2-3 feet on the ocean. Visibility can be restricted in thunderstorms.

High Tides

Atlantic City	4:10 a.m.	4:33 p.m.
Barnegat Inlet	4:15 a.m.	4:34 p.m.
The Battery	4:52 a.m.	5:14 p.m.
Beach Haven	5:31 a.m.	5:52 p.m.
Bridgeport	7:56 a.m.	8:17 p.m.
City Island	8:35 a.m.	8:58 p.m.
Fire Island Lt.	4:59 a.m.	5:20 p.m.
Montauk Point	5:44 a.m.	6:16 p.m.
Northport	8:17 a.m.	8:37 p.m.
Port Washington	8:41 a.m.	9:01 p.m.
Sandy Hook	4:13 a.m.	4:34 p.m.
Shinnecock Inlet	4:00 a.m.	4:27 p.m.
Stamford	8:11 a.m.	8:29 p.m.
Tarrytown	6:41 a.m.	7:03 p.m.
Willets Point	8:33 a.m.	8:54 p.m.

Beach and Ocean Temperatures



It will be a partly to mostly cloudy and very humid day for most beaches. A frontal boundary draped across the interior will spark some showers and thunderstorms, which will arrive during the afternoon and evening. Temperatures will remain above average, but lower than recent days.

Cities

High/low temperatures for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday, Eastern time, and precipitation (in inches) for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday. Expected conditions for today and tomorrow.

C	Clouds	**S**	Sun
F	Fog	**Sn**	Snow
H	Haze	**SS**	Snow showers
I	Ice	**T**	Thunderstorms
PC	Partly cloudy	**Tr**	Trace
R	Rain	**W**	Windy
Sh	Showers	**–**	Not available

N.Y.C. region	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
New York City	90/ 71 0.02	84/ 72 T	80/ 69 T
Bridgeport	85/ 74 0.08	82/ 72 T	79/ 70 T
Caldwell	91/ 71 0.19	84/ 70 T	80/ 69 T
Danbury	90/ 70 0.09	83/ 71 T	81/ 67 T
Islip	85/ 73 0.08	83/ 73 T	81/ 70 T
Newark	91/ 74 0.14	86/ 73 T	81/ 71 T
Trenton	92/ 70 0.09	84/ 68 T	81/ 66 T
White Plains	89/ 71 0.09	83/ 70 T	79/ 65 T

United States	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Albany	86/ 68 0.38	80/ 67 T	76/ 65 T
Albuquerque	94/ 65 0	94/ 65 S	93/ 66 PC
Anchorage	54/ 45 0.08	57/ 42 R	59/ 46 C
Atlanta	89/ 68 0	86/ 68 T	83/ 69 T
Atlantic City	85/ 74 0	83/ 74 T	82/ 70 T
Austin	106/ 74 0	103/ 72 T	103/ 74 T
Baltimore	92/ 71 0.48	86/ 70 T	84/ 67 T
Baton Rouge	101/ 71 0	96/ 66 T	94/ 64 S
Birmingham	87/ 67 0	87/ 68 S	88/ 68 S
Boise	86/ 58 0	89/ 58 S	88/ 59 S
Boston	89/ 73 0	81/ 70 T	78/ 68 T
Buffalo	73/ 59 0.04	74/ 61 C	71/ 60 C
Burlington	83/ 66 0.37	73/ 64 T	72/ 64 T
Casper	85/ 50 0	75/ 50 T	67/ 45 T
Charlotte	89/ 67 0.04	79/ 66 T	81/ 65 T
Chattanooga	87/ 69 0	86/ 67 T	84/ 67 S
Chicago	69/ 59 Tr	75/ 59 PC	78/ 62 PC
Cincinnati	77/ 63 0.02	77/ 61 PC	79/ 60 PC
Cleveland	70/ 60 0.02	71/ 63 PC	72/ 60 PC
Colorado Springs	87/ 54 0	87/ 55 PC	75/ 54 T
Columbus	76/ 61 0.04	77/ 62 PC	77/ 61 PC
Concord, N.H.	89/ 66 0.44	82/ 66 T	77/ 66 T
Dallas-Ft. Worth	108/ 81 0.04	100/ 76 T	97/ 75 S
Denver	90/ 59 0	87/ 55 S	72/ 52 T
Des Moines	81/ 56 0	82/ 61 S	77/ 58 PC
Detroit	69/ 56 0.01	71/ 56 PC	72/ 57 PC
El Paso	103/ 75 0	102/ 75 S	100/ 76 S
Fargo	79/ 55 0	72/ 51 T	73/ 49 S
Hartford	91/ 71 0.49	82/ 70 T	83/ 66 T
Honolulu	93/ 77 0.02	93/ 80 Sh	92/ 76 PC
Houston	105/ 74 0.04	97/ 76 T	98/ 74 T
Indianapolis	76/ 61 0.02	76/ 58 PC	79/ 59 S
Jackson	94/ 65 0	93/ 62 PC	90/ 63 S
Jacksonville	88/ 68 0.16	87/ 70 T	89/ 69 T
Kansas City	85/ 57 0.04	84/ 61 S	83/ 62 PC
Key West	90/ 80 0	89/ 80 S	90/ 82 S
Las Vegas	101/ 78 0	103/ 80 S	100/ 80 PC
Lexington	79/ 64 0	80/ 62 PC	80/ 59 PC
Little Rock	86/ 66 0.78	88/ 63 S	89/ 65 S
Los Angeles	90/ 68 0	93/ 71 S	90/ 68 PC
Louisville	78/ 67 0	81/ 65 PC	83/ 64 S
Memphis	85/ 65 0	84/ 64 S	84/ 66 S
Miami	92/ 77 0	91/ 78 PC	92/ 78 T
Milwaukee	67/ 56 0	71/ 58 PC	75/ 63 PC
Mpls.-St. Paul	77/ 60 0	79/ 60 S	71/ 54 C
Nashville	83/ 66 0	83/ 66 S	82/ 64 S
New Orleans	95/ 76 0	94/ 74 T	92/ 75 S
Norfolk	90/ 72 0	84/ 72 T	82/ 70 T
Oklahoma City	99/ 70 0	92/ 66 S	88/ 64 T
Omaha	85/ 58 0	85/ 60 S	79/ 59 T
Orlando	90/ 71 0.96	92/ 75 T	94/ 76 PC
Philadelphia	92/ 73 0.19	86/ 71 T	84/ 69 T
Phoenix	110/ 85 0	113/ 85 S	113/ 89 S
Pittsburgh	76/ 61 0.09	75/ 64 Sh	73/ 60 T
Portland, Me.	84/ 67 0	80/ 65 T	76/ 63 T
Portland, Ore.	78/ 56 0	85/ 59 S	81/ 60 C
Providence	86/ 70 Tr	81/ 69 T	81/ 67 T
Raleigh	93/ 69 0.04	86/ 69 T	87/ 66 T
Reno	85/ 55 0	86/ 55 S	86/ 58 S
Richmond	95/ 69 0.30	88/ 67 T	84/ 65 T
Rochester	74/ 61 0.10	71/ 62 Sh	68/ 59 Sh
Sacramento	90/ 58 0	90/ 55 S	94/ 59 S
Salt Lake City	92/ 63 0	90/ 63 S	86/ 62 S
San Antonio	104/ 76 0	103/ 77 S	99/ 78 S
San Diego	80/ 68 0	82/ 70 S	82/ 69 PC
San Francisco	74/ 58 0	73/ 57 S	76/ 57 PC
San Jose	85/ 59 0	82/ 57 S	85/ 61 S
San Juan	90/ 81 0.13	92/ 81 T	92/ 81 Sh
Seattle	72/ 52 0	79/ 55 S	75/ 57 PC
Sioux Falls	85/ 60 0	76/ 59 T	71/ 52 PC
Spokane	76/ 53 0	79/ 54 S	79/ 58 S
St. Louis	80/ 61 0	77/ 61 S	84/ 62 S
St. Thomas	90/ 80 0.10	93/ 81 T	93/ 81 R
Syracuse	77/ 62 0.32	76/ 64 T	72/ 64 T
Tampa	89/ 74 0.04	90/ 77 T	91/ 77 PC
Toledo	70/ 59 0.02	76/ 55 PC	76/ 56 PC
Tucson	105/ 77 0	107/ 78 S	108/ 80 S
Tulsa	93/ 70 0	91/ 63 S	91/ 66 S
Virginia Beach	87/ 73 0	83/ 72 T	82/ 70 T
Washington	94/ 71 0.63	86/ 70 T	81/ 67 T
Wichita	95/ 61 0	92/ 62 S	87/ 63 PC
Wilmington, Del.	92/ 70 0.19	85/ 70 T	82/ 67 T

Africa	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Algiers	85/ 65 0	86/ 65 S	90/ 72 PC
Cairo	103/ 85 0	94/ 83 S	95/ 83 S
Cape Town	62/ 47 0	64/ 53 W	59/ 45 Sh
Dakar	90/ 77 0.20	93/ 80 PC	92/ 78 PC
Johannesburg	79/ 48 0	85/ 57 S	85/ 62 S
Nairobi	79/ 59 0.11	72/ 58 C	77/ 58 PC
Tunis	90/ 70 0	89/ 69 S	91/ 68 S

Asia/Pacific	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Baghdad	115/ 83 0	110/ 78 PC	110/ 79 PC
Bangkok	93/ 80 0.98	95/ 82 T	92/ 82 T
Beijing	83/ 73 0.22	73/ 68 R	82/ 68 C
Damascus	102/ 65 0	100/ 64 W	93/ 63 S
Hong Kong	84/ 79 0.55	83/ 76 Sh	82/ 77 Sh
Jakarta	97/ 75 0	92/ 75 PC	92/ 75 C
Jerusalem	96/ 75 0	88/ 68 S	84/ 67 S
Karachi	93/ 80 0	92/ 81 W	93/ 81 W
Manila	91/ 79 0.05	93/ 80 PC	92/ 79 Sh
Mumbai	86/ 77 2.05	88/ 82 Sh	90/ 81 T
New Delhi	97/ 81 0.18	89/ 78 T	88/ 76 PC
Riyadh	105/ 83 0	111/ 86 S	112/ 85 S
Seoul	86/ 66 0	92/ 68 PC	89/ 70 PC
Shanghai	86/ 73 0	90/ 69 PC	90/ 71 PC
Singapore	90/ 79 0.20	88/ 79 Sh	88/ 80 T
Sydney	75/ 53 0.19	66/ 45 S	66/ 47 S
Taipei City	84/ 73 0.24	89/ 74 S	88/ 74 Sh
Tehran	103/ 79 0	97/ 73 S	96/ 68 S
Tokyo	82/ 72 4.73	86/ 79 PC	90/ 80 S

Europe	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Amsterdam	84/ 61 0	83/ 64 PC	88/ 66 PC
Athens	82/ 72 0.01	83/ 71 S	83/ 70 W
Berlin	84/ 58 0	87/ 56 PC	87/ 58 S
Brussels	86/ 62 0	87/ 65 S	88/ 65 PC
Budapest	82/ 55 0	86/ 54 S	88/ 56 S
Copenhagen	75/ 59 0	75/ 60 PC	73/ 59 PC
Dublin	79/ 59 0	75/ 59 Sh	69/ 59 C
Edinburgh	77/ 56 0	76/ 58 PC	70/ 58 C
Frankfurt	86/ 61 0	87/ 61 S	87/ 59 S
Geneva	86/ 62 0	88/ 62 S	89/ 61 S
Helsinki	68/ 54 Tr	69/ 56 PC	70/ 57 C
Istanbul	84/ 73 0	84/ 69 W	83/ 67 W
Kyiv	80/ 51 0	71/ 48 S	71/ 51 S
Lisbon	77/ 67 0.03	78/ 64 T	78/ 63 PC
London	86/ 64 0	90/ 67 S	87/ 63 PC
Madrid	88/ 66 0	83/ 63 T	85/ 63 S
Moscow	59/ 47 0.01	63/ 49 C	69/ 50 S
Nice	82/ 71 0	83/ 72 S	83/ 71 S
Oslo	64/ 57 Tr	70/ 59 C	77/ 58 PC
Paris	93/ 65 0	94/ 67 PC	93/ 66 PC
Prague	81/ 54 0	83/ 54 S	83/ 56 S
Rome	88/ 64 0	86/ 63 S	86/ 61 S
St. Petersburg	68/ 52 0	70/ 50 C	72/ 55 PC
Stockholm	70/ 54 0	73/ 56 C	73/ 54 PC
Vienna	82/ 53 0	84/ 55 S	86/ 56 PC
Warsaw	79/ 56 0	80/ 56 PC	83/ 57 S

North America	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Acapulco	92/ 76 0	91/ 76 T	92/ 76 T
Bermuda	86/ 77 0.12	88/ 78 T	88/ 80 S
Edmonton	67/ 43 0	70/ 43 S	71/ 45 S
Guadalajara	84/ 62 0.17	86/ 58 S	86/ 58 S
Havana	91/ 71 0	91/ 71 Sh	91/ 73 Sh
Kingston	93/ 80 0	95/ 84 S	95/ 86 T
Martinique	90/ 76 0	95/ 77 S	95/ 78 T
Mexico City	78/ 57 0	79/ 55 PC	79/ 54 PC
Monterrey	99/ 75 0	100/ 72 S	100/ 71 S
Montreal	79/ 69 0.24	74/ 61 C	69/ 62 Sh
Nassau	87/ 77 0.03	88/ 79 T	90/ 79 PC
Panama City	84/ 75 0.20	87/ 76 T	88/ 76 T
Quebec City	77/ 67 1.18	72/ 56 C	71/ 56 R
Santo Domingo	90/ 74 0	95/ 75 R	95/ 75 T
Toronto	70/ 59 0.02	70/ 60 PC	71/ 59 PC
Vancouver	65/ 52 0	69/ 54 PC	70/ 56 PC
Winnipeg	73/ 51 0	72/ 44 C	66/ 41 PC

South America	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Buenos Aires	66/ 47 0	65/ 55 C	67/ 60 PC
Caracas	93/ 77 0.28	95/ 75 T	95/ 76 T
Lima	74/ 64 0	74/ 68 PC	74/ 67 PC
Quito	76/ 43 0.02	73/ 44 C	73/ 42 Sh
Recife	84/ 74 0.16	84/ 75 Sh	84/ 76 R
Rio de Janeiro	82/ 67 0	83/ 71 C	80/ 70 PC
Santiago	63/ 45 0.07	59/ 48 C	62/ 47 C

The New York Times
Games

Play wherever you are.

Try the Crossword, the Mini,
Spelling Bee, Tiles and more from anywhere.
nytimes.com/games

K N

Sports
The New York Times

Nine Years After Mo'ne Mania, Still Intrigued by Sports

NAIMA GREEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mo'ne Davis, 22, on the Columbia campus. A graduate of Hampton University with a degree in communications, Davis is passionate about broadcasting.

A Little League World Series trailblazer begins graduate school in sports management at Columbia.

By WAYNE COFFEY

Her sudden sprint to celebrity started on a small mound of dirt in South Williamsport, Pa., 46 feet from home plate, winging 71 mile-per-hour fastballs and sweeping curveballs, braids bouncing behind her as she went.

Nine years later, Mo'ne Davis is walking up Broadway, near 116th Street, just about that distance from the main gate of Columbia University. She is wearing gray sweats and a dark pullover and the braids are still behind her, though not bouncing at the moment.

This week, Davis began her pursuit of a master's degree in the Ivy League's only graduate sports management program, where she is undoubtedly the only student who has appeared on the cover of Sports Illustrated, won an ESPY, written a book, starred in a commercial directed by Spike Lee and met Barack and Michelle Obama in the White House.

Enrolling in Columbia is merely the latest stop in Davis's improbable, and high-achieving, journey.

"I always believed that nobody can tell you you can't do something," said Davis, 22, as she sat on a bench on a recent afternoon near Columbia's Low Library. "This world is huge, and there is so much space for everyone to do something great."

It was August 2014 when Davis's Taney Dragons Little League team, out of Center City Philadelphia, won the Pennsylvania state championship and advanced to the Mid-Atlantic regional championship. Davis pitched a three-hit shutout to send the Dragons to the Little League World Series, and five days later was even more dominant in the opener against South Nashville, Tenn., giving up two infield hits and striking out eight, her 4-0 victory making her the first girl to win a game in tournament history.

'This world is huge, and there is so much space for everyone to do something great.'

MO'NE DAVIS, star of the 2014 Little League World Series.

Mo'ne Mania took off from there and didn't stop even when Taney came up one game short of playing for the U.S. championship. Mike Trout and Kevin Durant were among those who posted about her on social media. The Sports Illustrated cover, with the words "Mo'ne Remember Her Name," followed. Jimmy Fallon bet her a Philly cheesesteak she couldn't strike him out in a Wiffle ball at-bat; Fallon whiffed and had to pay up. Davis, who is believed to be the only African American girl to compete in the Little League World Series, couldn't go anywhere in Williamsport without getting mobbed for photos and autographs. She handled it with astonishing grace, even though it made her uncomfortable.

"I didn't like it because it's a team sport," she said. "It's not about one person. My teammates deserve credit for helping me become the player I was."

At the top of that list was her catcher, Scott Bandura, a skinny, undersized kid who had a live left-handed bat and an uncanny ability to call a game and set hitters up.

"He's the smartest player I've ever played with," Davis said.

As Davis arrives in the Ivy League, Bandura, now a 6-foot-4, 190-pound outfielder, just departed. An All-Ivy slugger at Princeton, Bandura was drafted in the seventh round this summer by the San Francisco Giants, and is thriving for the club's Class A affiliate in San Jose, Calif.

Davis loves Bandura like a brother. They've been teammates for most of their lives, playing baseball, basketball and soccer for the Anderson Monarchs, a traveling team from Philadelphia that was founded by Steve Bandura, Scott's father.

"She is extremely humble and grounded, but she is also confident," Scott Bandura said of Davis. "She has had to handle a lot of different situations over the last 10 years, and nothing seems like it fazes her."

Steve Bandura first spotted a 7-year-old Davis while doing maintenance work at a ball field, watching in wonder as she threw a football with her cousin — one perfect spiral after another. He asked if she would be interested in joining the Monarchs, competing with boys. She got her mother's OK, and Davis immediately became a Monarchs standout, then earned a scholarship to Springside Chestnut Hill Academy, a private school in Philadelphia where Scott Bandura and his sister, Stephanie, were also enrolled.

"Without Coach Steve and his family, I wouldn't be where I am," Davis said.

Davis excelled, academically and athletically, at Springside, playing varsity basketball and soccer starting in eighth grade, and junior varsity baseball in ninth grade before switching to softball. Everyone seems to agree basketball was her best sport. In one game in sixth grade, playing for the Springside middle school, the team won by a score of 41-38. When Steve Bandura, who coached her on the Monarchs but not at Springside, asked her about the game and how much she scored, she said she didn't know.

"Well, roughly, how many points do you think you had?"

"I don't know," she said.

Later, Steve Bandura posed the same question to Springside's coach, Deb Brady.

"She had 35," Brady told him.

Steve Bandura likened Davis's point guard game to that of Steve Nash because of her creativity and playmaking ability. Her dream for a long time was to run point at the University of Connecticut before she rolled her ankle the summer before her senior year and was in a boot for six weeks. She didn't enjoy her A.A.U. experience, and decided that top-tier Division I basketball wasn't for her, not least because she didn't grow after sixth grade; even now, Davis is virtually the same size — 5 feet 5 inches and 120 pounds — she was in Williamsport.

Davis wound up earning a softball scholarship at Hampton University, an H.B.C.U. on the coast of Virginia, playing middle infield, studying journalism and earning a degree in communications with a 3.67 grade-point average. Opting to pursue graduate school, she was accepted into Columbia's sports management program and then applied for, and won, an H.B.C.U. fellowship that covers the full $125,000 cost of the three-semester program. Scott Rosner, the program director, said Davis's Little League World Series pedigree, and the fame that followed, had "zero to do with her acceptance."

"She's all in. She's a front rower, literally," Rosner said. "She is super engaged and doesn't have any pretense or airs about her."

Even before her first Columbia credit, Davis has built a striking résumé. In 2021, she worked in Washington doing color commentary for the D.C. Grays, a team in a summer college baseball league. A year later, she took on more broadcast work for M.L.B. and ESPN, and this summer, she moved to Los Angeles, where she lived with the media personalities Rodney and Holly Peete (whom she met amid the Williamsport whirlwind) and interned in the Dodgers' video production department.

Davis's biggest challenge may be figuring out where she goes from here. Her coursework for this semester includes classes like sports accounting and finance; sports marketing; foundation of sports management; and sports law and ethics. She continues to have a passion for broadcasting. She is intrigued by the idea of working in a front office. Having seen the growth in women's sports — most recently evidenced by the record-setting attendance and viewership of the Women's World Cup — she thinks that would be a seamless fit.

"I want to get more involved, not just speaking about it, but being hands-on with it," Davis said.

One day she would like to be part of an ownership group to bring a W.N.B.A. or National Women's Soccer League franchise to Philadelphia, but that is not for now. Nine years after a spin in the spotlight made Davis one of the most heralded athletes in the country, she is happy to be a regular graduate student.

"Being in New York City, being able to learn from these professors, it doesn't get better than this," Davis said.

AL TIELEMANS /SPORTS ILLUSTRATED, VIA GETTY IMAGES

Davis with her catcher, Scott Bandura, during their historic run in 2014. Bandura is now a minor league outfielder, and nearly a foot taller than Davis.

TENNIS | U.S. OPEN

PHOTOGRAPHS BY MAANSI SRIVASTAVA/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Novak Djokovic on Friday after winning the first set in his record 47th Grand Slam singles semifinal. He now will be in his 36th final.

Shelton's Power and Touch Shine but Fall Short

By MATTHEW FUTTERMAN

Every time Ben Shelton, the 20-year-old Floridian thunderbolt, took the court at the U.S. Open this year he put on one of the greatest shows of the tournament.

He was a racket-waving highlight reel once more on Friday afternoon in the semifinals, playing the kind of tennis that could make every American fan pay homage to the spirit of "Big" Bill Tilden or whatever magical force led Shelton to pursue tennis instead of football as he became a teenager.

That second serve of 143 miles per hour, and the frightening forehand the kid ripped across the court. The athleticism he showed floating back to turn solid lobs into fearless, rocking overhands. Those arms rippling out of his sleeveless shirt, and the spirit, too, the way he yelled out an exuberant "yeah!" like a kid on the playground every time he snatched a big point. And that touch on the drop volleys, that land and spin back toward the net.

Unfortunately for Shelton, the scoring system in tennis offers no style points, and in Novak Djokovic he faced not only a 23-time Grand Slam winner and the greatest player of the modern era but the ultimate practitioner of tennis tai chi. For years, and never more than in his latest stretch of dominance, the 36-year-old Djokovic has been turning the power and style of the flashiest and most powerful challengers against them.

And that is exactly what Djokovic did Friday. Playing in a record 47th Grand Slam semifinal, Djokovic executed the sort of tactical deconstruction of Shelton that has crushed the dreams and good vibes and flash that so many younger players have come at him with before. Without using an ounce more energy than he had to, Djokovic took apart the young man with the sculpted arms, 6-3, 6-2, 7-6 (7-4), in just over two and a half hours.

Ben Shelton, a hard-hitting 20-year-old from Florida, had crowd-pleasing moments but succumbed, 6-3, 6-2, 7-6 (7-4).

For most of the afternoon, he caught up with Shelton's drop shots from the back of the court like a cheetah chasing his lunch, and picked off the missiles on Shelton's serve like he was catching butterflies in a field on a late summer afternoon. When it ended with Shelton whipping a forehand into the net, Djokovic even stole Shelton's much-talked-about post-match celebration — miming a phone at his ear then slamming it down before giving the young lad an icy handshake.

Shelton saw Djokovic's mimic later on video after he left the court. He doesn't much care for people telling him how to celebrate, he said.

"I think if you win the match, you deserve to do whatever you want," Shelton said. "As a kid growing up, I always learned that imitation is the sincerest form of flattery, so that's all I have to say about that."

Djokovic, who spoke about the celebration after Shelton, said with a wry smile, "I just love Ben's celebration. I thought it was very original, and I copied him."

Understand now, Djokovic appreciates a flashy tennis highlights as much as anyone. Taking the court for the third set holding a nearly insurmountable — against him — two-set lead, he swung just about as hard as he could and watched Shelton feather a drop volley. Djokovic gave the moment the racket clap it deserved. Lovely play, young man. Minutes later he cruised into the court and rolled a passing shot to break Shelton's serve and spirit once more.

Djokovic did all this in front of a crowd of nearly 24,000 fans at Arthur Ashe Stadium revved up for a high-octane brawl. With thunderstorms in the area, the roof was closed, and every time Shelton put together one of those displays of power and touch and speed and athleticism and came away with the point, the blast of the roars was something that felt like you could reach out and touch.

That was never more true than when Shelton trailed 2-4 in the third set, desperately trying to extend the match. He found himself with a point to break Djokovic's serve and did not disappoint, drawing Djokovic into a wide forehand that generated a brain-rattling sound. Two games later, amid Djokovic's only error-strewn and poor-serving lull of the day (it happens), he held a break point and all the good vibes.

And then once more, Djokovic stifled the moment with his trademark efficiency — a 124 mp.h. serve out wide that Shelton could not handle. Order had been restored.

There was still a little more Shelton and Djokovic for the packed stadium to enjoy. Shelton saved match point and sent the third set to a tiebreaker, then stuck around a bit when he went down, 5-1. But Djokovic had things to do and a rightful place in his 36th Grand Slam final. Shelton whipped that forehand into the net and it was Djokovic's turn to bask in the noise — and to hang up the phone.

Pair Achieves an Extraordinary Men's Doubles Three-Peat

By DAVID WALDSTEIN

The 2023 U.S. Open has been characterized by the emergence of several young American stars seeking their first major titles. For Rajeev Ram, the veteran American doubles specialist, winning titles here is getting repetitive.

Ram, 39, and Joe Salisbury of Britain won the men's doubles title on Friday afternoon and became the first team to win three straight men's doubles titles at the U.S. national championships in 109 years.

They beat No. 6 Rohan Bopanna and Matthew Ebden, 2-6, 6-3, 6-4, in a match underscored by an act of notable sportsmanship.

The last team to win three U.S. Open championships in a row was the all-American duo of Tom Bundy and Maurice McLoughlin, who did it from 1912 to 1914. Ram, who is from Carmel, Ind., calls himself a tennis history buff, making the achievement even more meaningful to him.

"It will be something that I will carry with me forever," he said.

The No. 3 seeds, Ram and Salisbury also won the 2020 Australian Open. But this title may have been just as unexpected after they rebounded from a difficult year to win the final major of the circuit. They had won only one previous tournament this year, the Lyon Open in France in May, and were 4-6 in their last 10 matches coming into the U.S. Open. Then, in the final, they played a terrible first set before recovering to win.

Other legendary doubles pairs have compiled impressive streaks at different Grand Slams, including John McEnroe and Peter Fleming, who won four titles in six years at Wimbledon; the Woodies — Mark Woodforde and Todd Woodbridge — who won five in a row at Wimbledon; and Bob and Mike Bryan, who won three in a row and six in eight years in Australia. But none of those duos were able to string together three straight at the U.S. Open, the last major of the calendar year.

AL BELLO/GETTY IMAGES

Joe Salisbury of Britain, left, and Rajeev Ram of the United States won their third straight U.S. Open championship.

Ram said it is extraordinarily difficult to win three U.S. Opens in a row. "A lot has to go right," he said. "You have to get really lucky."

Americans have made a strong showing at this year's U.S. Open, with Coco Gauff reaching Saturday's final in women's singles and another American woman, Madison Keys, going as far as the semifinals. In the men's singles, three Americans made it to the final eight, and Ben Shelton reached a semifinal, where he lost to No. 2 Novak Djokovic in Arthur Ashe Stadium on Friday.

Ram, 39, and Salisbury, 31, won their earlier match on the same court. After it was over, Salisbury put a towel over his head, hiding tears that he acknowledged later.

"I don't know why this one seems more emotional than the others," Salisbury said. "I don't remember crying after any matches, especially not ones that we've won, even at the Grand Slams. There's something about being here, about doing it, doing it again and doing it after the year we've had. We had some struggles, some pretty low times."

The match featured a moment of fair play so notable that the chair umpire announced it to the audience.

With Ebden serving at 2-4 in the third set, he hit a forehand that barely skimmed Bopanna's right elbow before landing in Ram and Salisbury's court for an apparent winner. But Bopanna immediately signaled to the chair that it had hit him, meaning they would lose the point. No one else, including Ram, Salisbury and the chair umpire, noticed it, and Bopanna had to approach the umpire and notify her.

When she explained it to the spectators, they applauded the gesture, and the score was corrected to 0-30. It did not end up factoring in the game because Ebden and Bopanna won the next four points and held serve. But Ram said it was unprecedented.

"I haven't seen anything like that in all the years I've been playing, and especially not in a Grand Slam final," Ram said. "Nobody saw it. Nobody heard it. It would have been only him that would have known that happened if he didn't say something."

After the match, in the locker room, Ram expressed his admiration directly to his gracious opponent.

"I don't have the words to say how much I appreciate something like that," Ram said.

Two Players Making Debut In the Women's Singles Final

By JESUS JIMÉNEZ

The U.S. Open women's singles final is set: Coco Gauff, the 19-year-old American, will play Aryna Sabalenka, the No. 2 seed from Belarus.

The championship match, which is scheduled for Saturday at 4 p.m. Eastern, will be Gauff's first appearance in a U.S. Open final, making her the first American teenager to reach the final in New York since Serena Williams in 2001. Gauff has already played in a Grand Slam final in 2022, when she lost the French Open to Iga Swiatek.

Sabalenka, 25, will also be playing in a U.S. Open final for the first time after reaching the semifinals of the tournament in 2021 and 2022. Sabalenka has performed well at Grand Slams this year. She won the Australian Open in January for her first Grand Slam title, and she reached the semifinals of the French Open and Wimbledon.

Their roads to the final.

Before the semifinals, Sabalenka had sailed through the tournament, winning her first five matches without dropping a set. That streak ended in the semifinal on Thursday against Madison Keys, who took the first set from Sabalenka 6-0 in a swift 30 minutes. But Sabalenka fought back, winning the next two sets on tiebreakers.

Gauff's matches have not been as straightforward. She played a full three sets in the first round against Laura Siegemund, in the third round against Elise Mertens and in the fourth round against Caroline Wozniacki.

But since then, Gauff has had back-to-back straight-sets wins. In the quarterfinals against Jelena Ostapenko she won 6-0, 6-2, in just over an hour. In the semifinals, Gauff beat Karolina Muchova 6-4, 7-5.

Gauff leads the head-to-head.

Sabalenka and Gauff have played against each other five times, and Gauff has won three of those matches. The final will be the first time the two have played each other at a Grand Slam tournament.

Sabalenka won their most recent match in straight sets in the quarterfinals of Indian Wells earlier this year. After her match on Thursday, Sabalenka said that she hadn't thought about that win because Gauff had improved since then.

Gauff arrived at the U.S. Open this year after winning back-to-back titles in Washington and at the Western & Southern Open in Ohio.

"It's a different player," Sabalenka said. "Going into this final, I think I just have to focus on myself and prepare myself for another fight. No matter what, just keep fighting and keep playing my best and do my best."

There's a spotlight on Gauff.

Since Gauff turned pro at 14, she has been under a near-constant spotlight and has often been described as an heir apparent to Serena Williams. Gauff affirmed those descriptions for many when she reached her first Grand Slam singles final last year at the French Open at just 18 years old.

Now, as the last American woman standing in the tournament, Gauff has all eyes on her yet again. She said after her match on Thursday that she had been avoiding social media to block out the expectations people have for her.

"I have just been really focusing on myself," she said. "I really believe that now I have the maturity and ability to do it. Regardless of what happens on Saturday, I'm really proud of how I have been handling the last few weeks."

Still, Gauff is seeking her first Grand Slam tournament title, and after winning on Thursday, she said on court that the "job's not done yet," a reference to the basketball star Kobe Bryant, who died in a helicopter crash in 2020.

"That's the mentality that I have," Gauff said. "I'm trying to enjoy the moment, but also knowing I still have more work to do. Yes, the final is an incredible achievement, but it's something that I'm not satisfied with yet."

Don't count out Sabalenka.

After losing the first set of her semifinal match on Thursday without winning a game, Sabalenka found herself down 4-2 in the second set against Keys. But Sabalenka willed her way back,

HIROKO MASUIKE/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Coco Gauff won her last two tournaments this summer.

HIROKO MASUIKE/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Aryna Sabalenka won the Australian Open this year.

forcing a tiebreaker in the second set, and then again in the third set.

"I'm really proud that I was able to turn around this match," Sabalenka said.

Thursday night was not the first time Sabalenka had pulled off such a comeback. At last year's tournament, Sabalenka was down by 2-6, 1-5, in a second-round match against Kaia Kanepi. The match had been Kanepi's to lose until Sabalenka fought back to win the second set and then the third.

Sabalenka said the best way to practice comebacks is in tournaments, but even in practice, she will visualize being down 4-1 in a set.

A world No. 1 spot awaits.

Even if Sabalenka were to lose the final on Saturday, she would become the new women's world No. 1 on Monday when the WTA rankings are updated. Sabalenka is guaranteed the top spot after Swiatek, who reigned as the No. 1 player for 75 weeks, was eliminated from the U.S. Open in the fourth round.

After her fourth-round match against Daria Kasatkina on Monday, Sabalenka said she wasn't thinking about the No. 1 spot yet.

"I don't want to celebrate anything before the end of the U.S. Open," she said. "I just want to focus on this tournament more than on world No. 1."

MICHELLE V. AGINS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Gauff has played in one other Grand Slam final, in Paris in 2022.

HIROKO MASUIKE/THE NEW YORK TIMES

In her semifinal, Sabalenka trailed Madison Keys, 0-6, 2-4.

BASKETBALL

Germany Ousts Inexperienced, Undersized U.S. Team From World Cup

By SOPAN DEB

As the final buzzer sounded Friday night, the American players looked dejected. Hands on hips. Jerseys over faces. Sagging shoulders. Expressions of disbelief as they watched Germany's players leap and hug in celebration at midcourt.

Germany had shocked the United States, 113-111, in the semifinals of the FIBA World Cup in Manila. The United States, perennial gold medal favorites in this men's tournament, looked a step behind the whole game, done in by a porous perimeter defense and a lack of rebounding. And Germany, led by guard Andreas Obst with 24 points and forward Franz Wagner with 22 points, had earned the biggest basketball win in German history.

The loss on Friday served as a humbling status check on the U.S. men's national program heading into the Paris Olympics next year. This was the first FIBA World Cup under the leadership of Steve Kerr, who has won four N.B.A. championships as coach of the Golden State Warriors. He has marquee assistant coaches, including Erik Spoelstra, who has won two N.B.A. titles coaching the Heat, and Tyronn Lue, who coached the 2016 Cleveland Cavaliers to a championship.

A squad with few N.B.A. stars suffers a humbling 2-point loss in the semifinals.

EZRA ACAYAN/GETTY IMAGES

From left, Jaren Jackson Jr., Jalen Brunson and Josh Hart leaving the court in Manila on Friday after the favored U.S. team lost.

EZRA ACAYAN/GETTY IMAGES

The German team after the biggest victory in the nation's basketball history. Their opponent in the final on Sunday is Serbia.

EZRA ACAYAN/GETTY IMAGES

Franz Wagner, who scored 22, dunking against Jackson. The United States, coached by Steve Kerr, went with smaller lineups.

But on the court, there was far less experience. The World Cup does not hold the same prestige as the Olympic tournament, which meant fewer players were willing to spend part of their summer abroad after a grueling N.B.A. season. This roster did not feature a single All-N.B.A. player and was a combination of role players and up-and-comers. There were four total All-Star appearances combined (Tyrese Haliburton; Brandon Ingram, who was out Friday with an illness; Jaren Jackson Jr.; and Anthony Edwards). Only one player on the team had an N.B.A. championship, Bobby Portis.

Germany repeatedly pummeled the United States in the paint, exploiting the United States' choice to play with smaller lineups. Germany grabbed 12 offensive rebounds, compared with seven for the United States. It also shot well from outside, 13 for 30 from 3-point range.

Germany outscored the United States by 35-24 in a pivotal third quarter, and maintained a double-digit lead for much of the rest of the game. But a late flurry by the United States, led by the forward Edwards, cut Germany's lead to 3 points with just over three minutes left. Edwards led the Americans with 23 points but missed a 3-pointer that would have tied the game with two minutes left.

Germany got 22 points from forward Franz Wagner, who has played for the University of Michigan and the Orlando Magic, and 21 from Daniel Theis, a veteran N.B.A. big man.

Germany is the only unbeaten team in the tournament. It was the second loss for the United States, which had been upset by Lithuania earlier this week.

For the United States, the tournament did not attract many of the top stars from the N.B.A. But the team will almost assuredly look different for the Paris Olympics in 2024. This edition of the team will play only for a bronze medal against Canada, while Germany clinched a spot in the gold medal game against Serbia on Sunday.

In the most recent tournament, in 2019, the United States had an even more disappointing run, failing to get a medal after a quarterfinal loss to France, after winning the tournament in 2014 and 2010. Before the loss to France, the United States had won 19 straight World Cup games.

In many ways, the high expectations for the United States are of its own making. The standard was set by the 1992 team at the Olympics — the Dream Team led by Michael Jordan, Larry Bird, David Robinson and Patrick Ewing — and carried forward in subsequent Games, including the 2008 squad nicknamed the Redeem Team, which included LeBron James, Kobe Bryant and Carmelo Anthony. For years, the Americans have been expected to romp through any and all international competitions.

But as basketball has grown exponentially in other countries, the gap between the United States and the rest of the world has narrowed, meaning that if Americans aren't sending their best players, they can no longer expect to glide to a gold medal.

For the Olympics, the United States will still be a heavy favorite, and it is likely to field more perennial All-Stars. Stephen Curry, the Golden State star, has expressed an interest in joining the team in Paris.

The past two World Cups have shown that stars of Curry's caliber would be welcome for the Americans.

"These games are difficult," Kerr told reporters after the game. "This is not 1992 anymore."

PRO FOOTBALL

As Mahomes Magic Fails, Detroit Manages to Upset The Super Bowl Winners

By KEN BELSON

KANSAS CITY, Mo. — In his first six years in the league, Kansas City quarterback Patrick Mahomes has pulled off a career's worth of surprises, trick plays and comebacks. So with 2 minutes 37 seconds remaining in the fourth quarter and his Chiefs trailing by just a point at home against the Detroit Lions, Mahomes seemed poised to mount yet another game-winning drive.

But on Thursday night, Mahomes was playing under unusual circumstances. With his favored target, tight end Travis Kelce, out with a knee injury and the longtime offensive coordinator Eric Bieniemy replaced by Matt Nagy, Mahomes was unable to spin his familiar magic.

The Lions are 'tired of being on the poor side of things.'

Receiver Kadarius Toney, uncontested, dropped a pass on the first play of the drive, and a completion to receiver Skyy Moore was called back because of an offensive-holding penalty. Three more incompletions and a penalty forced Kansas City to hand over the ball on downs, allowing the Lions to hold on for a 21-20 upset victory in the N.F.L.'s season-opening game.

"There were some good things on offense, but we have to be more consistent," Andy Reid, the losing coach, said. "It's unusual for us to drop that many passes anywhere anytime."

It was a shocking result, and not just for the Kansas City fans who reveled in a pregame celebration of their team's latest Super Bowl championship, from February. Mahomes, the team's star, the undisputed king of active quarterbacks after the retirement of Tom Brady, looked human. Entering his seventh season, Mahomes has already won two Super Bowl titles in three appearances, and two Most Valuable Player Awards.

"It's embarrassing for me to lose anytime," Mahomes said. "It's cool for the fans to see the banner dropped, but this is a whole new year."

Detroit's win continued a surprising run dating to last season, when the Lions won eight of their final 10 games, including an upset of the division-rival Packers that knocked Green Bay out of playoff contention.

Beginning his third season as the Lions' head coach, Dan Campbell has made a hallmark of surprising and bold play calls, which he went to early against Kansas City. In the first quarter, Campbell called a fake punt with the Lions on their own 17-yard line. The ball was snapped directly to linebacker Jalen Reeves-Maybin, who ran up the middle of the field for 3 yards and a first down. Quarterback Jared Goff zipped short passes the rest of the drive, finding Amon-Ra St. Brown for a 9-yard score to give the Lions a 7-0 lead following the extra point.

Despite an uneven performance by his standards, Mahomes, who finished with 226 yards on 21 of 39 passing, mustered his teammates at key moments. On the drive following the Lions' first score, Mahomes targeted seven different receivers to march Kansas City on a 75-yard touchdown drive.

The Lions botched a drive when receiver Marvin Jones Jr. fumbled in the red zone. With the game knotted at 7 before halftime, Mahomes hit receivers Marquez Valdes-Scantling and Justin Watson on back-to-back plays for 34 and 26 yards. He then found the backup tight end Blake Bell alone at the goal line for a touchdown.

The Lions caught a break in the third quarter when Brian Branch picked off a Mahomes pass that popped out of Toney's hands. Branch raced 50 yards into the end zone to knot the score at 14. The Lions, it seemed, were not going to go away easily.

The Lions also hurt themselves. They were charged with a 41-yard pass interference penalty on a Kansas City drive late in the third quarter. After two more Mahomes passes were dropped, Kansas City settled for a field goal to take the lead, 17-14. Kicker Harrison Butker added another field goal early in the fourth quarter.

JAMIE SQUIRE/GETTY IMAGES

Jared Goff (16) exulting on Thursday night after he led the Lions to a 21-20 victory at Kansas City.

DAVID EULITT/GETTY IMAGES

Patrick Mahomes was missing his favorite target, Travis Kelce, and had several passes dropped.

The Lions went ahead, 21-20, midway through the fourth quarter when running back David Montgomery bulled 8 yards into the end zone.

On the Lions' next drive, Campbell again made an aggressive call by opting to go for it with the Lions parked at the Chiefs' 45-yard line on fourth-and-2. He was perhaps emboldened with Chris Jones, the Chiefs' All-Pro pass rusher, watching the game from a suite in the stadium amid a contract dispute and Goff on his way to a 253-yard performance.

But Goff's attempt was batted down at the line by safety Justin Reid, giving Mahomes plenty of time to regain the lead. That was until he was undone by his teammates.

The Lions left Arrowhead Stadium with a statement victory, with Goff beckoning cheers from the stands. Detroit has not won its division in three decades and hasn't made the playoffs in six seasons. The Lions sank to a 1-6 start to begin the 2022 season, many of the losses decided by one-score margins.

"We're tired of being on the poor side of things, where you walk away from these games and you know it's a close one but you lose," said Aidan Hutchinson, the Lions' second-year defensive end. "And I think we're tired of it, man. And, man, I think we're coming this season, dude."

Despite the loss, the Chiefs remain a team to be feared. Mahomes, the most talented player of his generation, is determined not to rest on his laurels. Before the game, he was asked if Kansas City, which appeared in three Super Bowls during Mahomes's first five seasons as the full-time starter, is a dynasty. No, he said, the team would need to win a third Super Bowl to earn that status.

As Thursday's loss showed, to earn a third ring, Mahomes will need a little help.

THE NEW YORK TIMES CLASSIFIED LISTINGS
IN PRINT & ONLINE AT NYTIMES.COM

Connecticut Apts. Unfurnished 1845

GREENWICH, CT
1 BR cottage apt., park-like setting, private area, parking included. $1,500/mo including utilities. Call 203-559-5235

New Jersey Houses for Sale 1905

Experience estate-like living just 35 miles from NYC. 5750 square foot, 4 bedroom/4 bathroom home on 2 private acres. Home features a backyard oasis, home office, sauna, game room with projection TV, as well as many custom features. Top rated schools, close to major highways. For more details, see 9deckerlane.com. Must see!

Massachusetts Sales 2355

FRAMINGHAM, MA
Large restored Federal antique on 4+ acres 13 rms,. 9 fplcs, 5 BRs, 5.5 baths, garages and barn $1,275,000
Petraglia RE 508-476-7745

New Hampshire Sales 2357

Lake Winnipesaukee
TRUSTEE'S AUCTION
2 Homes and 1 Lot, Sept. 23rd
Governor's Island, Gilford, NH
www.paulmcinnis.com
603-964-1301 Lic. #2089

Shabtai Shavit, 84, Israeli Peacemaker and Top Spymaster, Is Dead

By SAM ROBERTS

Shabtai Shavit, who as director-general of the Israeli intelligence agency the Mossad in the 1990s helped broker a peace agreement with Jordan, oversaw the assassinations of Islamic terrorists and navigated the global fallout from the collapse of the Soviet Union, died on Tuesday during a vacation in Italy. He was 84.

His death was announced by the office of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. No cause was identified.

David Barnea, the Mossad's current director, described Mr. Shavit as "a pillar of the world of operations, intelligence, security and strategy of the state of Israel."

While the Mossad was credited with, and criticized for, numerous clandestine operations — among them targeted assassinations of terrorists, which Mr. Shavit defended — he and the agency were widely praised for their role in bringing Israel and Jordan to the table to sign a treaty in 1994, ending a state of war between the two countries that had existed since 1948, when Israel was founded.

The treaty — Israel's first with an Arab country since the pact with Egypt in 1979 — provided for the establishment of diplomatic relations and assurances that neither Israel nor Jordan would allow another country to use its territory as a staging ground for military strikes.

"In the cases of Egypt and Jordan, intelligence identified their willingness to negotiate peace," Mr. Shavit wrote in a memoir, and served "as an active participant in the negotiations right up to the signing of the peace treaty in the case of Jordan."

The day after he signed the declaration of peace with Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin in a White House ceremony joined by President Bill Clinton in July 1994, King Hussein of Jordan, on a flight from Washington, called Mr. Shavit at home. "The king wished to thank me personally for my role in achieving peace," Mr. Shavit wrote. The peace treaty was signed that October.

If Mr. Shavit was a peacemaker, however, he was even more a spymaster who was accused of ordering deadly retaliations for terrorist attacks and staging pre-emptive strikes.

During Mr. Shavit's term, Atef Bseiso, a top intelligence aide to the Palestinian leader Yasir Arafat, was fatally shot outside a hotel in Paris in 1992, an assassination that Mr. Arafat accused the Mossad of orchestrating. Israeli officials denied they were involved. And Fathi Shiqaqi, the leader of the militant group the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, was killed in Malta in 1995 in what was widely believed to be a Mossad operation.

THOMAS COEX/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Shabtai Shavit in 2015 in Tel Aviv. In a 2018 interview, he said he supported a two-state solution to the conflict with Palestinians.

WILFREDO LEE/ASSOCIATED PRESS

King Hussein of Jordan, left, after signing a joint declaration with Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel in a White House ceremony in July 1994. President Bill Clinton looked on.

DANIEL GARCIA/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

During Mr. Shavit's tenure as director general, the Mossad was caught unawares by a deadly attack on the Israeli embassy in Buenos Aires in 1992. A bomb destroyed the five-story building.

Also during Mr. Shavit's tenure, the Mossad was caught unawares by attacks on the Israeli embassy in Buenos Aires in 1992 and on a Jewish community center there in 1994 that left scores dead. An internal Mossad inquiry later concluded that the attacks had been carried out by a secret Hezbollah unit, The New York Times reported last year, and were widely considered to be in retaliation for Israeli's strikes against Hezbollah in Lebanon. The attacks demonstrated the militant group's global reach at a time when Israel considered its mandate to be the protection of Jews even beyond its borders.

Mr. Shavit worked for the Mossad for 32 years, including seven as director under three prime ministers. Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir chose him to lead the agency in 1989, and he was its director when Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin was assassinated in 1995.

He was the first head of the Mossad — known officially as the Institute for Intelligence and Special Operations — who had come of age after the nation's founding. And he was the last Mossad director whose very name remained classified during his tenure, until secrecy was subsumed by a public commitment to transparency.

In recent months Mr. Shavit vigorously opposed Mr. Netanyahu's efforts to curb the power of the nation's judiciary. He also favored a negotiated two-state solution to achieve peace with the Palestinians.

"Why are we living here?" he said in an interview with the Israeli newspaper Yedioth Ahronoth in 2018. "To have our grandchildren continue to fight wars? What is this insanity in which territory, land, is more important that human life?"

Shabtai Shavit was born on July 17, 1939, in Nesher, a suburb of coastal Haifa. His father was a school principal. His mother taught nursery school. As a boy he learned Arabic in part from Arabs who would arrive from a nearby village to pick olives in his family's yard, he wrote in the memoir.

After graduating from the private Hebrew Reali School in Haifa, he served in the Navy and then in an elite special forces unit of the Israeli military. He earned a bachelor's degree in Middle East studies from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and a master's in public administration from Harvard.

Recruited to the Mossad in 1964, he served in the division responsible for recruiting and managing foreign agents.

When Israel's intelligence agencies were accused of lapses that led to a surprise attack by Arab forces in the Yom Kippur War of 1973, Mr. Shavit helped coordinate the response of the Mossad's director at the time to a government inquiry.

He told the newspaper Haaretz in 2013 that "during the failure of 1973, the Mossad was the one entity in the intelligence community which did what was required of it and beyond."

Mr. Shavit was for some time stationed abroad, including in Iran before the Islamic revolution of 1979. He would later say in interviews that as the Mossad's director his priority was to be prepared should Iran develop nuclear weapons.

He was military governor of Israel's Southern regional command from 1978 to 1979. From 1980 to 1985 he led the Caesarea division, a highly-classified outfit said to have been charged with rescuing Israeli hostages and retaliating for their seizure. He was the deputy to the Mossad director Nahum Admoni from 1986 to 1989.

After retiring from the Mossad in 1996, Mr. Shavit became chief executive of Maccabi Health Care Services, one of the country's largest health maintenance organizations. He also worked for gas and security companies; advised the Knesset, Israel's Parliament; and chaired an organization that awarded scholarships to veterans.

He was the last Mossad director whose very name remained classified.

He was the founding chairman of Reichman University's International Counter Terrorism Institute in Herzliya, Israel, and worked with the New York City Fire Department in creating a terrorism preparedness task force.

Mr. Shavit was one of a number of leading Israeli officials who successfully lobbied the Clinton administration to pardon Marc Rich, the American oil trader who had fled to Switzerland after being indicted on charges of widespread tax evasion, illegal dealings with Iran and other crimes. Mr. Shavit had praised Mr. Rich for allowing Mossad agents to use his offices around the world and for financing airlifts of Jews from Ethiopia, Yemen and other countries.

Among his survivors are his wife, Yael, who worked with him as a covert agent early in his career, and his children and grandchildren.

In his memoir, "Head of the Mossad: In Pursuit of a Safe and Secure Israel" (2020), Mr. Shavit wrote: "The world during the Cold War was infinitely more stable than the world in which we live today. The fear of global annihilation in an inter-power nuclear event generated global stability, which lasted until 1990. The Soviet Union collapsed, but the United States was not able to seize the decade during which it was the only sheriff in town to establish a new global order."

He expressed particular concern about the rise of international terrorism, saying the Islamic State "has brought terrorism to an extreme human history has not known since the Huns invaded the West from the steppes of Asia."

Despite his outspoken criticism of Mr. Netanyahu, Mr. Shavit described himself as taciturn.

As befits a man engaged in espionage, his reputation for laconism was so legendary that when he accepted his appointment as director general, Prime Minister Shamir turned to the person next to him and said, "I never knew that Shabtai could speak!"

"As the saying goes," Mr. Shavit recalled, "I never regretted the things I didn't say."

Ronen Bergman contributed reporting.

Patricia Caulfield, 91, Photographer Who Sued Warhol Over Her 'Flowers'

By RICHARD SANDOMIR

Patricia Caulfield, who during her time as a top editor at Modern Photography magazine in the 1960s successfully sued Andy Warhol for misappropriating a picture she made of hibiscus blossoms, then left the publication to become an acclaimed nature photographer, died on July 16 in Manhattan. She was 91.

Her death, at an assisted living facility, was confirmed by her sister, Kathleen Hall, her only immediate survivor.

After about a decade at Modern Photography, Ms. Caulfield became its executive editor in about 1964. Her photo of an arrangement of blossoms taken in Barbados appeared with an article in the June issue that year.

Warhol soon called the magazine wanting to buy the photo but felt the price was too high. According to the lawsuit, which Ms. Caulfield filed in November 1966, he then clipped the picture from the magazine, cropped it and produced silk screen paintings from it for what became his "Flowers" series, first shown at the Leo Castelli Gallery in Manhattan in November 1964.

HERBERT KEPPLER, VIA THE PATRICIA CAULFIELD PHOTOGRAPHIC ARCHIVE/DOLPH BRISCOE CENTER FOR AMERICAN HISTORY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN

Patricia Caulfield at Modern Photography offices 1960.

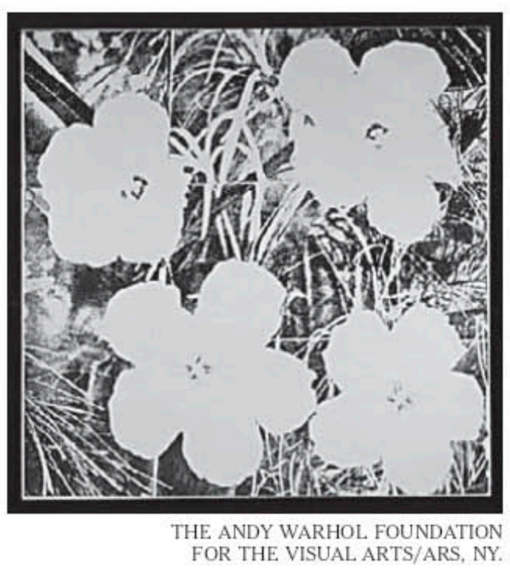
"He didn't think it would be a big thing, but 'Flowers' sold like crazy," Ms. Hall said in a phone interview.

As part of a settlement that Ms. Caulfield and Warhol eventually reached, he created two new "Flowers" paintings for her (the Castelli gallery would sell them for $6,000) and agreed to pay her a 25 percent share of the royalties derived from a portfolio of "Flowers" prints.

She left Modern Photography in 1967, inspired in part by an article she had written about the nature photographer Eliot Porter and by an article in The New York Times about a drought in the Everglades. It was the beginning of a freelance career, one that did not earn her much money but fulfilled her as a photojournalist whose images reflected her growing interest in wildlife and the environment.

"I guess there's the hope somebody may see my photographs and think, 'that's a wonderful animal, maybe it's worth making an effort to save,'" she told the Knight-Ridder News Wire in 1977. "But at least I'm effective in making a record of something before it all gets ruined."

GUY MINNEBACH



THE ANDY WARHOL FOUNDATION FOR THE VISUAL ARTS/ARS, NY.

The issue of Modern Photography that featured Ms. Caulfield's flower photographs, which became the source of Andy Warhol's "Flowers" series. Warhol later created two "Flowers" paintings for her.

She began making trips to the Everglades in the late 1960s. One picture shows an alligator, illuminated by Ms. Caulfield, with its mouth open and framed by tall grass. Another is of a snail climbing a tree.

Her book "The Everglades" (1970) presented 66 of her photographs and was accompanied by selections from the work of the writer and naturalist Peter Matthiessen and an essay by John G. Mitchell, the editor in chief of the Sierra Club, which published the book.

Reviewing the book for The Miami Herald, John Pennekamp, a columnist and Everglades conservationist, called the photographs "extraordinary" and wrote that its big appeal is "the unusual circumstances under which the pictures must have been made."

Patricia Marie Caulfield was born on March 17, 1932, in Chicago. Her family moved to New Hampton, Iowa, when she was in the second grade. Her father, John, was an ear, nose and throat doctor. Her mother, Marie (Schilling) Caulfield, was a nurse.

"As a child, I was very animal-oriented," Ms. Caulfield said in an interview in 1978 with Backpacker magazine, which called her "probably the most successful female nature photographer in the country." She added, "I had a secret image — a jungle girl — and I wasn't happy in Iowa farm country."

She studied English and history at the University of Rochester, where she appeared on a television show in which the host, Beaumont Newhall, the curator of the George Eastman House (now Museum), also in Rochester, taught her the basics of photography.

After graduating in 1953 with a bachelor's degree, she moved to San Francisco, where she took photography courses at night at the Patri School of Art Fundamentals and worked in a camera store during the day. Her interest in photojournalism prompted her move to New York City, where Modern Photography hired her as a secretary.

'She captured the Everglades at a point that we may never know it again.'

Ms. Caulfield rose though the magazine's ranks over 11 years or so until being named executive editor. She was succeeded by Julia Scully, who died last month.

Ms. Caulfield's travels, for Modern Photography and other publications, took her to Cambodia, the Galápagos Islands, Suriname, Guatemala, India, the Grand Canyon and the Ocklawaha River in Florida. Her work also appeared in the magazines National Geographic, Audubon, Smithsonian, Nikon World, Natural History and The American Sportsman.

Her other books include "Photographing Wildlife: Techniques for Portraying Animals in Natural Habitats" (1988) and "Capturing the Landscape With Your Camera: Techniques for Photographing Vistas and Closeups in Nature" (1967).

She recently donated her photographic archive to the Dolph Briscoe Center for American History at the University of Texas at Austin.

"She captured the Everglades at a point that we may never know it again," Newell Turner, a friend, said in a phone interview. He added, "It was pretty radical, as a woman at that time, to get deeply into the community of alligator hunters."

Ms. Caulfield moved away from publishing photographs in the late 1980s, feeling "a lack of a support system in the field, especially as a woman," according to her Briscoe Center biography. She enrolled at the City University of New York Graduate Center, where she spent about a decade studying biology but did not finish her Ph.D.

"She wasn't necessarily pursuing a degree," Mr. Turner said. "She was studying because it was her passion."

Through nearly all her career, she was a woman in a man's world.

"Most of the people in the field are men, and they think women shouldn't be doing what I'm doing," Ms. Caulfield told Backpacker. "That's an obstacle."

Deaths

Ader, Richard
Patterson, Catherine
Picket, Betsy

ADER—Richard.
Bennington College mourns the death of Richard Ader, who served on the Bennington Board of Trustees since 2017. We are grateful for his commitment and work on behalf of the College. He was a wise advisor and passionate advocate for Bennington. Our deepest sympathy to his family.

Nick Stephens,
Chair of the
Bennington College
Board of Trustees,
and Laura Walker,
Bennington College President

PATTERSON—Catherine Eve,
died on 29 August 2023 from sudden cardiac arrest in her New York apartment; she was 58 years old. Catherine, also called Cat Pat and Kitty, was born on 25 February 1965 in San Francisco and lived in California, New York and Vienna, Austria. She graduated from the Cambridge School in Weston, MA and from the Tisch School of the Arts of New York University. She founded Suspension of Disbelief, an off-off Broadway theater company, which produced plays by modern international playwrights. Her productions won critical approval. Catherine then went into advertising, with a long and successful career as a producer for many firms, including Big Spaceship, R/GA, McCann Erikson, VMLY&R, and Deloitte. She was recognized as a leader in the industry and led teams to win many awards including Cannes Gold, Silver and Bronze Lions in multiple categories. She was particularly proud of her work relating to the National Parks and of her mentorship of younger colleagues. A marriage to Michael Jensen ended in divorce. She married Jonathan Ogilvy, who survives her. She will be greatly missed by their son Nathaniel, her brother Nicholas and her parents George and Patricia Patterson.

Deaths

PICKET—Betsy.
The Board of Governors and members of Beach Point Club note with deep sorrow the passing of our fellow member Betsy Picket and extend sincere condolences to her family.

Amy Levere,
President

In Memoriam

ANGEL—Rita.
Absent but always in our hearts and minds.

Love,
Joshua, Nicole and David,
Alexis and Spencer,
Michael and Alessia,
Matthew and Danielle,
Sophia, Joshua and Oliver

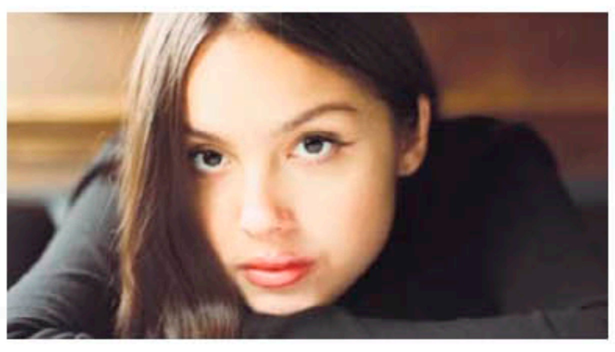
In Memoriam

TORRANCE—Donna.

In Memoriam.
Donna, it is 10 years since you left us, yet you are fresh as ever in our hearts. We hear your laugh, see your smile, feel the warmth of your friendship and love. From all of us you welcomed onto your boat. We miss you, honey bunny.

Love, Tom

ANNOUNCEMENTS OF DEATHS MAY BE TELEPHONED FROM WITHIN NYC TO 212-556-3900; OR OUTSIDE NYC TOLL FREE 1-800-458-5522; OR SENT BY EMAIL TO NYTIMES@CLASSIFIEDSPLUS.COM FOR THE FOLLOWING EDITIONS:
Until 4:00 PM the day before for Tuesday through Saturday editions, until 4:00 PM on Friday for Sunday's national edition, until 12:45 PM Saturday for Sunday's New York and late national editions, until 2:00 PM Sunday for Monday's editions. Photos must be submitted by noon the day prior to publication Tuesday through Friday.



5 MUSIC REVIEW

Olivia Rodrigo's lyrics cut deep. BY JON CARAMANICA

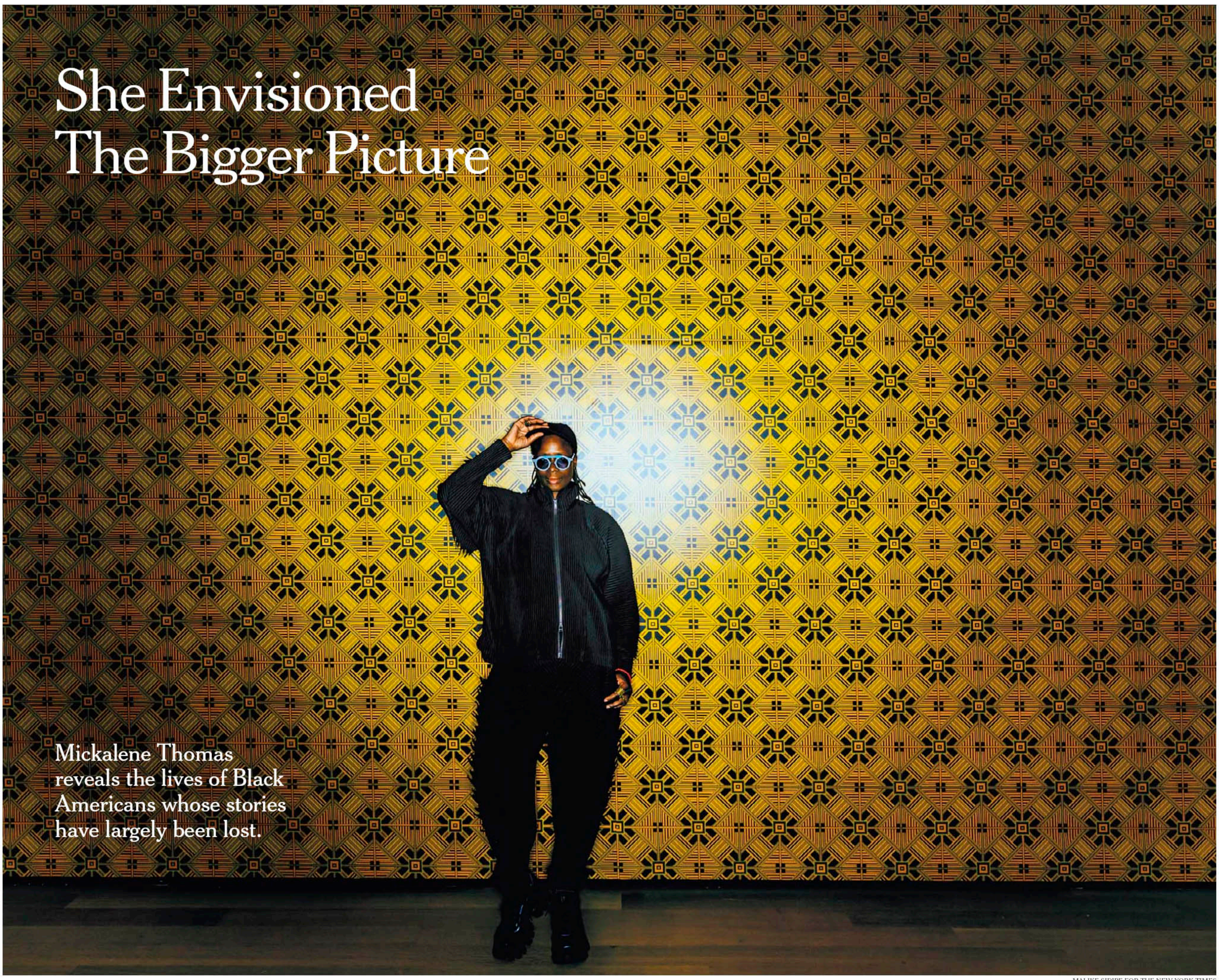
4 FILM REVIEW

A horror sequel doesn't kick the habit. BY CLAIRE SHAFFER

7 TRAVEL

On these islands, the environment's magic is everywhere.

BY JEANINE BARONE



She Envisioned The Bigger Picture

Mickalene Thomas reveals the lives of Black Americans whose stories have largely been lost.

MALIKE SIDIBE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

By HILARIE M. SHEETS

NEW HAVEN, CONN. — An exquisite portrait miniature of Rose Prentice, a domestic worker in her Sunday best, painted around 1837, joins the constellation of proud, self-possessed Black women to have served as muse to the artist Mickalene Thomas.

Since her first solo museum show in 2012 at the Brooklyn Museum, Thomas has been widely known for her bold and bedazzled paintings and photographs in which she centers images of her mother, herself, her friends and lovers in sumptuous or art-historical tableaus as a celebration of Black femininity and agency. Now, in "Mickalene Thomas/Portrait of an Unlikely Space," which opened on Friday at the Yale University Art Gallery, she has created context and community for the museum's sole portrait miniature of an African American, which was acquired in 2016.

For a loan exhibition revolving around a tiny work in watercolor on ivory, Thomas has designed an immersive domestic environment throughout four galleries that spotlight Prentice's portrait in the company of other rare miniatures, daguerreotypes, silhouettes and engravings of Black people from the pre-Emancipation era.

It is Thomas's first curatorial foray into early American history. Collaborating with the museum's curator of modern and contemporary art, Keely Orgeman, Thomas has also integrated works by her and eight other present-day artists, including Betye Saar and Sula Bermudez Silverman, with

CONTINUED ON PAGE C2

VIA YALE UNIVERSITY ART GALLERY

Above, Mickalene Thomas at the show she co-curated at the Yale University Art Gallery. Left, Sarah Goodridge, "Rose Prentice," ca. 1837-38, watercolor on ivory. The framed miniature portrait of a domestic worker in her Sunday best holds the viewer's gaze with its steadfast, slightly weary expression.

Where Artmaking's Materials Are the Draw

The Met's new learning center opens up the creative process.

By LAUREL GRAEBER

Heidi Holder said she had one firm rule for the design of the new children's learning center at the Metropolitan Museum of Art: It was not going to be an "egg carton."

Holder, the museum's chair of education, explained that "egg carton" was pedagogical slang for a regimented space in which people of the same age all do the same thing. Instead, the museum's 81st Street Studio, which opens on Saturday with an all-afternoon festival, evokes a rambling, geometric garden. With treelike structures, a green knoll and overhead chimes incorporating colorful carved birds, the 3,500-square-foot space exposes young minds to art's most fundamental ingredients: materials. By offering visitors opportunities to explore these elements and relate them to the Met's collection, the studio's creators hope to turn them into lifelong museumgoers.

"It's almost a portal for kids to introduce them to the Met," said Adam Weintraub, who led a recent walk-through of the $5 million project with Mishi Hosono. (Both archi-

CONTINUED ON PAGE C6

VINCENT TULLO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Metropolitan Museum of Art's 81st Street Studio, for children ages 3 to 11, opens on Saturday with an all-afternoon festival.

JAMES PONIEWOZIK

CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

TV Viewers Feel the Pain Of the Ax

But streamers aren't as brutal as networks with cancellations.

IT IS TIME that we have a discussion about cancel culture.

No, not that kind.

Streaming TV, which once seemed to be infinitely expanding, is experiencing shrinkage. Even before the writers' and actors' strikes threatened the pipeline of new series, Max saw a round of cost-cutting cancellations, including the "Gossip Girl" reboot, "Minx" (later saved by Starz) and a completed "Batgirl" movie. Amazon Prime Video has thrown the likes of "A League of Their Own" and "The Peripheral" overboard. Disney+ recently precanceled its already-made children's fantasy adaptation, "The Spiderwick Chronicles." Hulu's acclaimed Russian-monarchy comedy "The

CONTINUED ON PAGE C4

PHOTOGRAPHS BY AMIR HAMJA/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Envisioning the Bigger Picture To Create an Immersive Show

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1
themes of home, intimacy and labor.

"It's creating an archetypal family," said Thomas, who received her M.F.A. from the Yale School of Art in 2002 and returns frequently to work with students. Now 52, she views her inclusion of emerging artists into her own projects as one form of mentorship and hopes that providing this framing to the Prentice miniature will inspire more connections, "something that could continue like a family tree." Through this project, artists like Lebohang Kganye and Adia Millett, two little-known talents, have become new branches.

So who was Rose Prentice and why was this precious portrait, painted on expensive ivory, originally made?

It was known that the picture had been created by a prominent miniaturist named Sarah Goodridge, working in Boston at the time.

But it was left for Orgeman to piece together how Goodridge came to receive the commission to commemorate a domestic worker then in her mid-60s — the only Black sitter she is known to have painted.

Yale acquired the miniature from Caroline A. Phillips, in whose family it had descended for several generations. Eliza Tucker MacGregor is believed to be the person who asked Goodridge around 1837-38 to paint Rose, a beloved caregiver who had helped raise her while working for the Tucker family in Londonderry (now Derry), N.H.

Rose Prentice (formerly Tufts) spent her early and middle age as a laborer for John Prentice. In an 1889 letter to her niece, Anna Tucker Phillips, MacGregor said Rose was "bought & made free by Mr. Prentiss [sic] of Derry." The Tuckers were the subsequent owners of the property, and Prentice started working for them as a freedwoman. After MacGregor's marriage, Prentice moved with the couple to Boston.

"This is not an image that Prentice herself owned," said Orgeman, who surmised that MacGregor wanted the portrait as a keepsake at the time of her parting from her former nanny.

In 2020, Orgeman invited Thomas to Yale to see the portrait and envision a setting for its display alongside loans of more than two dozen other historical portraits by mostly unknown artists of both free and enslaved Black individuals.

"Mickalene seemed the ideal artist to imagine what the sitters might have wanted if they, or their families, had been able to own their portraits at the time," Orgeman said of the exhibition, which experiments with the methodology of "critical fabulation" — blending fact and speculation about the lives of Black Americans whose stories have largely been lost.

At the entrance to the exhibition, Thomas sets the scene with a 19th-century photograph of the elegant parlor in the home where Prentice worked, mounted on sepia-toned wallpaper of the artist's design that collages enlarged fragments of architecture, furniture and textile motifs from that era.

"The idea is you feel like you're walking into someone's home," Thomas said. She chose to paint the gallery walls, as well as mantels punctuated with period objects like vases and candlesticks, all a dark monochromatic blue gray. "It reminds me of the color of skin on a Black body, bringing a physical relationship of who I am," she said.

In her hand-size portrait in a case on a table, Prentice wears a rosebud-print dress

MALIKE SIDIBE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Top, part of the exhibition at the Yale University Art Gallery co-curated by the artist Mickalene Thomas, above.

Mickalene Thomas / Portrait of an Unlikely Space
Through Jan. 7, 2024, Yale University Art Gallery, 1111 Chapel Street, New Haven, Conn.; artgallery.yale.edu.

with a crisp white shawl and ruff at the neck, a plaid head scarf and glinting pearl earring. She holds the viewer's gaze with a steadfast, slightly weary expression.

"These are definitely garments Rose took great pride in and put on specifically for this," Thomas said. Imagining that Prentice would have seen many portraits of others throughout her employer's home, Thomas added, "I feel there's full awareness that she's posing and appreciation for having her portrait done that might have made her feel incredibly seen."

At the same time, Thomas wondered, was it another chore for Prentice?

Orgeman agreed that there would have been "some pressure, if not coercion" from Prentice's employer for her "to sit for that portrait that was not meant for her." Yet "there's a lovingness to this portrait as well," Orgeman said. She noted that the artist lived within a block and a half of the MacGregors in Boston and would likely have been familiar with Prentice.

Maybe it was even "the desire from the artist to want to paint her," Thomas said, "because of that proximity and her awareness of the real relationships" between Prentice and the MacGregor family members.

The exhibition goes on to open up possibilities for the other historical portraits, about which much less is known. Within the spare, dim interior, each is mounted on glowing illuminated shelves for a gemlike presentation that draws attention to the subjects' self-presentation — their sartorial choices as a reflection of refinement or the objects they hold as tools of their trade.

"I rarely feel so emotional about works," Thomas said. "You want to just peer into them."

She has positioned other beacons of light throughout the space, including Bermúdez-Silverman's 2021 replica of her childhood dollhouse, cast in translucent sugar and lit from within, a reference to her ancestor's enslavement on a sugar plantation in Puerto Rico. As a bookend to Prentice's portrait, a 1975 assemblage by Saar, the only late-career artist in the mix, places a Jim Crow-era mammy figurine holding a grenade in a box lined with a bill of sale of an enslaved woman and her children. Saar juxtaposes a delicate drawing on its lid of a Black mother and her own infant.

"I think of it as the punctuation mark on the whole show," Orgeman said.

The title of the exhibition sprung from Elizabeth Alexander's 2004 book of essays, "The Black Interior," referring in part to spaces in the home arranged with precious objects by the family matriarch. "This 'portrait of an unlikely space' struck me for its potential double meaning," Orgeman said, "referring to Mickalene's creation of this fictive environment but also the use of the museum to highlight the importance of Black life. This is unusual for a place like Yale."

Thomas, who acknowledged the university's troubled history of marginalizing Black people and also its impact on her development as a young artist, thinks Yale is ready. "As an institution," she said, "they are opening themselves for conversation and critique."

As one of their star alumni, she is part of that change.

The collectors Bernard Lumpkin and Carmine D. Boccuzzi Jr., also Yale graduates, recently endowed an annual scholarship named in Thomas's honor for an incoming Yale M.F.A. student, whom the artist will mentor. This semester, Thomas is the first visiting artist at NXTHVN, a fellowship program co-founded by the Yale M.F.A. alumnus Titus Kaphar in New Haven, where Thomas will make studio visits and participate in workshops with resident artists and high school apprentices.

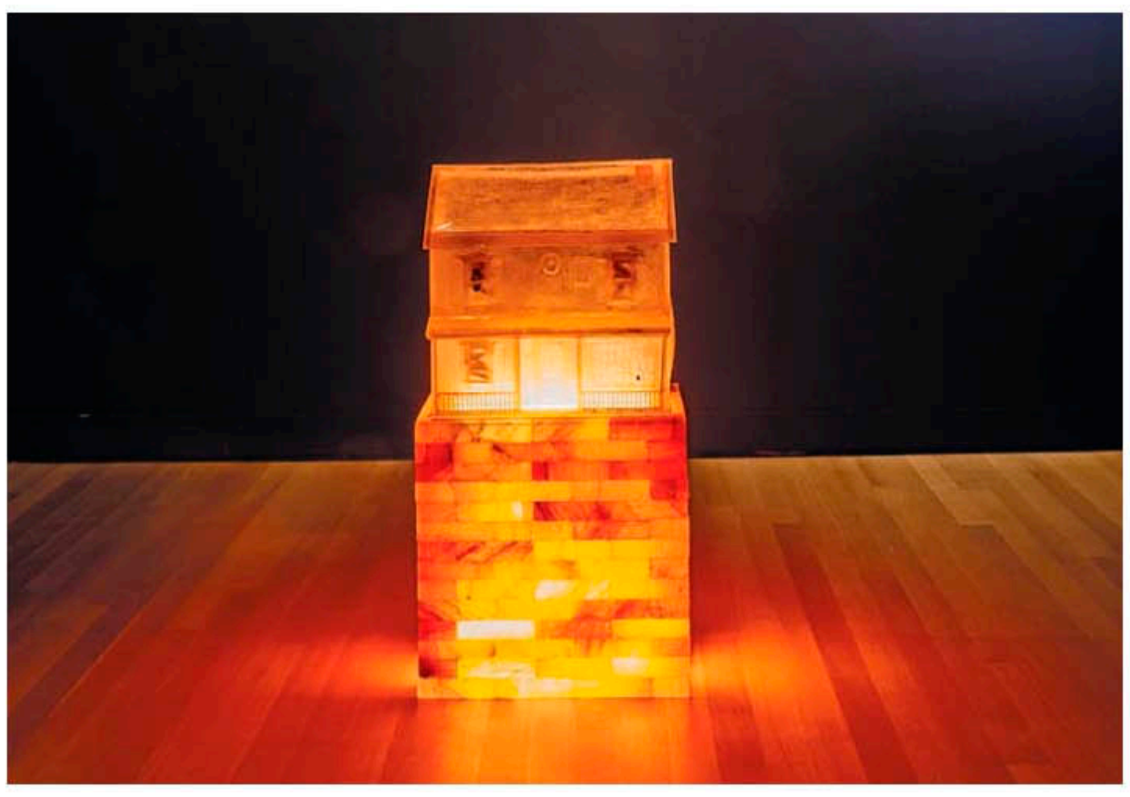
She's part of a lineage of Black artists giving back, Lumpkin said, pointing also to Derrick Adams, Kehinde Wiley and Mark Bradford, who have formed mentoring organizations, "using their success and visibility to create opportunities for other artists and ensure seats at the table."

At Pratt Institute in Brooklyn, where Thomas attended as an undergraduate, she and the school's chair, Jane South, founded Pratt>FORWARD in 2021 to give emerging artists professional development and peer advice. "Everyone that comes into the program, whether they are a mentee or art professional, becomes part of the network and support system — another family tree," Thomas said. (The open call starts this month for the program's third edition, which will take place in March 2024 at 4 World Trade Center in collaboration with Silver Art Projects.)

For Mary Enoch Elizabeth Baxter, one of 10 artists selected for last year's edition of Pratt>FORWARD, the support came at a critical moment, when she was offered a solo show at the Brooklyn Museum. As a formerly incarcerated artist who is largely self-taught, Baxter said, "I have a lot that I'm contending with, trying to find exactly where I belong in the art world. Having Mickalene help guide me has been a gift."

Thomas has included Baxter in the Yale exhibition. In "Consecration to Mary," Baxter has taken two 1882 photographs by the artist Thomas Eakins that exploit a young Black girl posed naked and inserted herself in the images as a protectress shielding the child.

"I'm from North Philadelphia and Mickalene's from Camden — two under-resourced communities — and we have a similar background of resiliency in the face of immeasurable odds," Baxter said. "I think that helps us feel like home to each other."



The above four photos, from top, a mixed-media diorama in an Edwardian silver jewelry box by Curtis Talwst Santiago titled "What Are You Doing? Just Chilling by the Pool" (2017); the portrait miniature of Rose Prentice; Sula Bermúdez-Silverman, "Repository I: Mother," which nods to her ancestor's enslavement on a sugar plantation in Puerto Rico; and Thomas's 2011 Polaroids, from left, "Courbet #1 (Melody: Sitting)," "Courbet #3 (Sleep)" and "Courbet #2 (Melody: Centered)."

JESSICA KIANG | CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

Trapped Women And Controlling Men At the Center of Stories

The lineup at the Venice Film Festival features tales of restless female characters.

VENICE — The press room at the Venice Film Festival has to be the most beautiful film festival press room in the world. Taking over the third floor of the imposing Palazzo del Casinò, the main atrium is a gargantuan, triple-height space carpeted in soft cream, with columns clad in marble extending up past Murano glass chandeliers, and floor-to-ceiling windows hung with gold-sheened drapes giving way to a sparkling blue sea. On a clear day — which it almost always is — you imagine that, were it not for the curvature of the earth, you could see forever. Or at least to Croatia.

It is an eternal contradiction that this lofty space should be peopled with dozens of perspiring journalists hunched over their laptops, hammering away at their keyboards like birds beating their wings against the bars of a particularly gilded cage. Or maybe such dark thoughts in a such a light-filled structure — designed by the architect Eugenio Miozzi in 1938 to embody the monumentalist fantasy of Mussolini's fascist regime — are a symptom of a festival lineup that, this year, features a profusion of stories about women similarly chafing against the restrictive, but often luxurious, enclosures built by controlling men.

Some of these men were towering real-life figures. Penélope Cruz turns in the standout performance in Michael Mann's "Ferrari" as the long-suffering wife of the Italian motoring magnate (Adam Driver), and Carey Mulligan does much the same as Leonard Bernstein's wife Felicia in "Maestro," directed by and starring Bradley Cooper. In both these cases — and arguably to the detriment of both well-made but strangely evanescent films — the portrayal of genius pales in comparison to the portrait of a woman who supported and nurtured that genius, even when it threatened to engulf her.

Of two memorable scenes in "Maestro," only one — Bernstein's performance of Mahler's "Resurrection" Symphony at Ely Cathedral in 1973 — is about his music. The other is a lacerating domestic argument in the couple's bedroom, during which, in every shaking nerve, Mulligan embodies the resentment of a bright, ambitious woman whose devotion to and indulgence of her famous spouse has cost her so much of herself.

The life-draining capacity of egocentric men is even more strikingly literalized in Pablo Larraín's mordant, monochrome "El Conde," in which the Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet (Jaime Vadell) is recreated as a 250-year-old vampire. In Larraín's scabrous, grisly alternate history, Pinochet is a decrepit immortal, drowning in self-pity since faking his death to evade justice. And Pinochet's wife Lucía (Gloria Münchmeyer) is imagined as his equal, or even his better, in sheer perversity; much of the misery the terrorized nation experienced under the dictator is suggested to have been at her behest.

But although that gives Lucía, who constantly petitions her husband to bite her so that she too can live out her depravities forever, a degree of apparent agency, that is robbed from her in one brief scene where "The Count," as he likes to be called, casually trades her off to his obsequious Renfield-style butler (Alfredo Castro). The Count is then free to pursue an affair with a nun, including fantasy play that involves her dressing up as Marie Antoinette. (The Count has been obsessed with the ill-fated Queen of France ever since, in one of the film's most provocatively gruesome early scenes, he licked the guillotine blade that severed her slender neck.)

Marie Antoinette is perhaps the ultimate emblem of decorative married womanhood. And of course, she was the title star of a previous film from Sofia Coppola, whose Venice-competing "Priscilla" is yet another tale of a woman's tentatively self-engineered escape from the influence of a dominant man.

Based on, and clearly in deep sympathy with, Priscilla Presley's memoir "Elvis and Me," the film follows the famous couple's relationship, from their first meeting when then-Priscilla Beaulieu (Cailee Spaeny) was just 14 years old and living on a U.S. Army base in Germany, to the moment, almost a decade-and-a-half later, when Priscilla Presley drove through the gates of Graceland for the last time as the house's mistress.

This is unmistakably a Sofia Coppola movie, in its luxuriant feel for fabrics and facades, but as in "Marie Antoinette," here the surfaces become the substance. It is a story about how, especially to a naïve teenager, the trappings of an outwardly tantalizing lifestyle can be sprung upon you like a trap.

During their first tearful goodbye in Germany, Elvis (Jacob Elordi) makes the schoolgirl Priscilla promise to "stay exactly the way you are." But the banner film investigating the icky desire on the part of some men to keep their womenfolk infantilized is Yorgos Lanthimos' joyously macabre "Poor Things." The biggest hit of Venice so far, it is deeply — if twistedly, and often hilariously — concerned with the idea of female emancipation, as Bella, played by a riveting, inventive and highly physical Emma Stone, shucks off the psychological bondage first of her adoptive father (Willem Dafoe) and then of her caddish, pompous lover (Mark Ruffalo).

Even the film's hyperreal aesthetic, in which Lisbon and London are depicted by intricate, steampunky set-builds with lurid computer generated skies and seas, reinforce the concept: The film's self-consciously airless and artificial universe makes the vigor of Bella's adventures in sex and self-discovery all the more striking.

There are still more women trapped under the thumbs of domineering men dotted throughout the lineup, most notably in two black comedies that both feature contract killers (another feature of Venice 2023, if you also take David Fincher's "The Killer," Harmony Korine's "Aggro Dr1ft" and the Liam Neeson thriller "In the Land of Saints and Sinners" into further account).

Richard Linklater's "Hit Man" stars and is co-written by Glen Powell, who deserves to leap up to major-league stardom on the back of this effervescently amoral exaggeration of a real-life story: Gary, a diffident English professor who moonlights as a fake hit man, finds love getting in the way of his mission when an abused wife, Madison (Adria Arjona), tries to enlist his services. She is driven to it as a means to escape. But the murder-solicitation in Woody Allen's French-language "Coup de Chance," is far less morally defensible, prompted by jealousy and again, a loss of control, as the possessive rich-guy Jean (Melvil Poupaud), discovers that his young, vivacious wife (Lou De Laâge) has taken a lover.

"Coup de Chance" is, in some respects a return to form for Allen, even if one suspects that some of its breeziness is down to the attractive cast compensating for the staleness of Allen's recent English-language quippery by mercifully speaking in French. (Native French speakers of my acquaintance tell me that the dialogue, to their ears, sounds similarly unnatural.)

But it does feel more current than most of Allen's recent output, not least in how it syncs up neatly with this Venice edition's chief preoccupations: hit men and trapped women, and all the poor things who find themselves in plush Central Park or central Paris apartments, in press room palaces or fantastical Lisbon hotels, surrounded by luxury, but longing to be free.

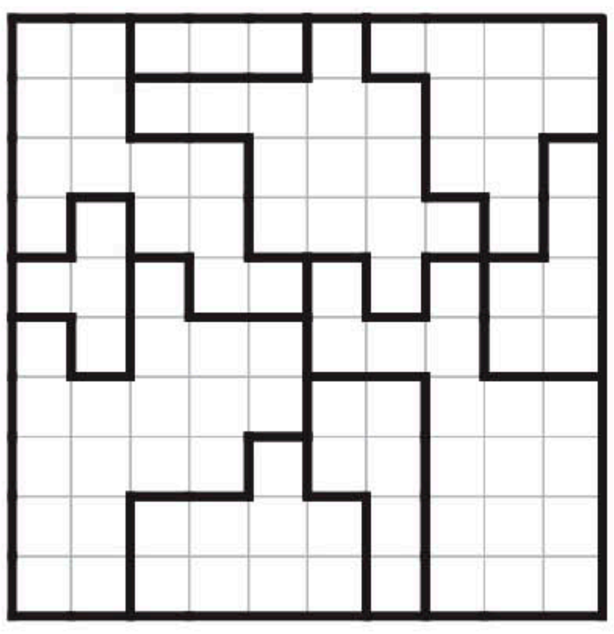
YORGOS LANTHIMOS/SEARCHLIGHT PICTURES

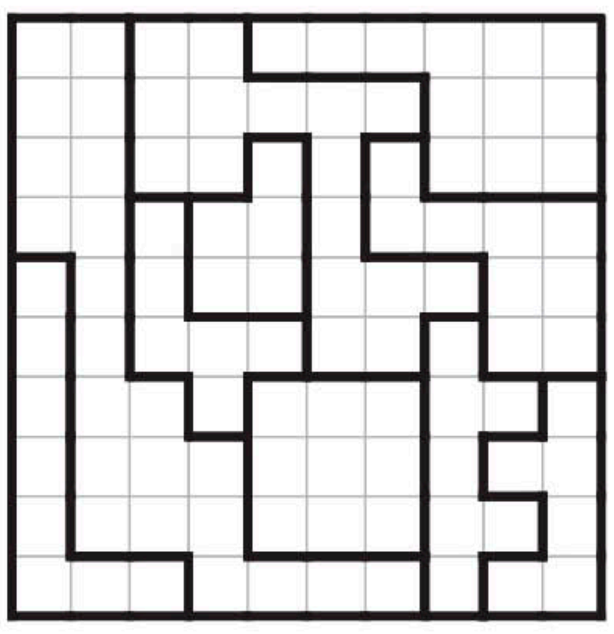
PHILIPPE LE SOURD

LORENZO SISTI

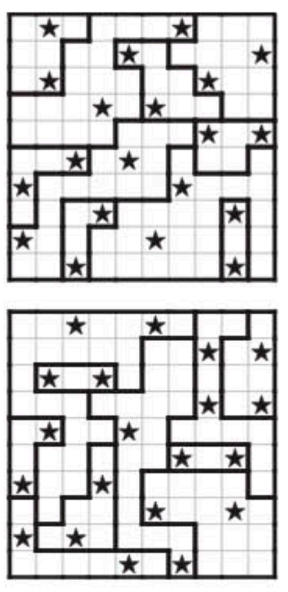
Top, Emma Stone plays Bella, who tries to unburden herself from both her adoptive father and her vain lover in "Poor Things." Above from left, Jacob Elordi and Cailee Spaeny as Elvis and Priscilla Presley in "Priscilla"; and Penélope Cruz in "Ferrari."

Two Not Touch





ANSWERS TO PREVIOUS PUZZLES



Put two stars in each row, column and region of the grid. No two stars may touch, not even diagonally.

Copyright © 2023 www.krazydad.com

Wit Twister

Sierra _ _ _ _ _'s treasure calls, its rocks and hills agleam,

So, _ _ _ _ _ with picks and shovels, the adventurers ascend.

Ironically, the gold they find will vanish like a _ _ _ _ _

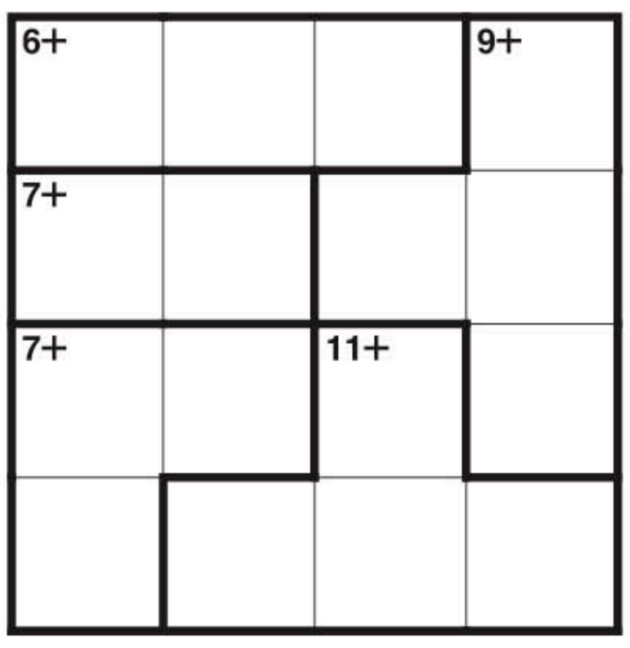
And one suspicious soul will meet a lonely, fatal end.

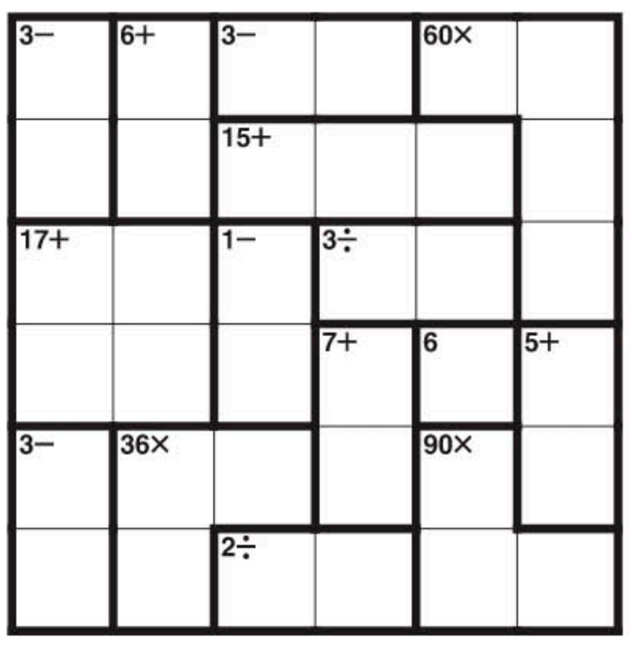
Complete the verse with words that are anagrams of each other. Each underline represents a letter.

PUZZLE BY STUART CLELAND

YESTERDAY'S ANSWER Super --> pursue

KenKen





ANSWERS TO PREVIOUS PUZZLES

3	2	4	1
4	1	3	2
2	3	1	4
1	4	2	3

1	5	6	3	2	4
6	4	1	2	3	5
2	6	4	5	1	3
3	2	5	4	6	1
4	3	2	1	5	6
5	1	3	6	4	2

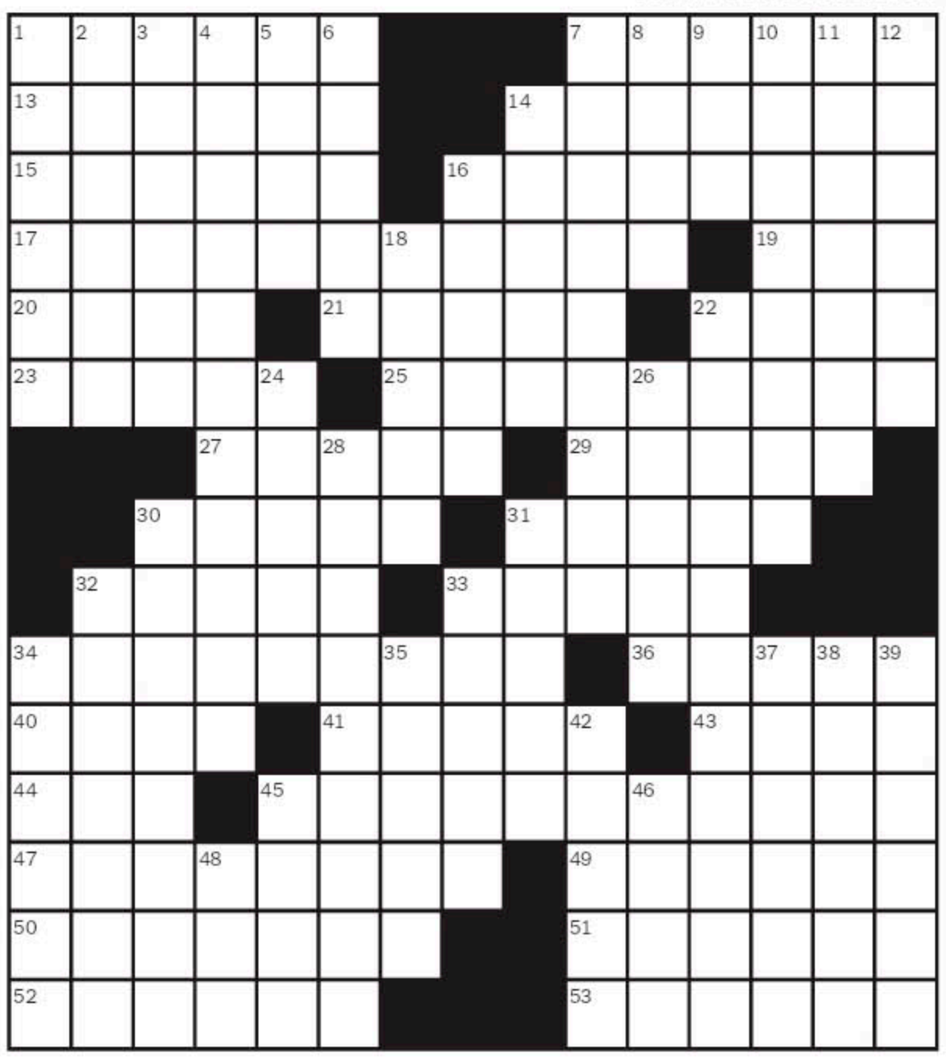
Fill the grid with digits so as not to repeat a digit in any row or column, and so that the digits within each heavily outlined box will produce the target number shown, by using addition, subtraction, multiplication or division, as indicated in the box. A 4x4 grid will use the digits 1-4. A 6x6 grid will use 1-6.

For more games: www.nytimes.com/games

KenKen® is a registered trademark of Nextoy, LLC. Copyright © 2023 www.KENKEN.com. All rights reserved.

Crossword | Edited by Will Shortz

PUZZLE BY ROBERT S. GARD



9/9/23

ACROSS

1 Many opera villains, traditionally
7 Top-notch
13 Latin for "last"
14 Clipper's bounty
15 Political subject of the 2018 memoir "Nino and Me"
16 Thieves who targeted pedestrians, in historic parlance
17 Some futuristic personal transports
19 Piddling amount
20 Square
21 Suss (out)
22 Dance move done in a prone position, with "the"
23 Sports bar fixture, in brief
25 Like some tests
27 Time for self-care
29 Half sister of Meredith Grey on "Grey's Anatomy"
30 Prepare to put in storage, in a way
31 Worked steadily at
32 Folds
33 Kvetches
34 Opening day?
36 Some neighborhood mischief, informally
40 Choice for checkout
41 First coed and racially integrated college in the South
43 Old concert halls
44 ___ mission
45 Branch of study that challenges hetero-normativity
47 Some client arrangements
49 Grounds
50 Temperature units in physics
51 Has the stomach for
52 Like a Lothario
53 Complimentary

DOWN

1 Apple quantity
2 Spot to curl up with a book, maybe
3 Fended (off)
4 Art form accompanied by a theater organ
5 Title that shares an etymology with "admiral"
6 Onetime Scandinavian exports
7 Family man?
8 Monotonies
9 Starter, for short
10 Help out, informally
11 Sign
12 "So many ___. So little know" (proverb)
14 Vacation destination in the Ionian Sea
16 ___ cakes (cupcakes, in the U.K.)
18 Coming up next
22 Is windy, perhaps
24 Makes cross
26 Bit of deception
28 Unwanted discovery under the bed
30 Clingy type?
31 Fake person
32 Church part near the altar
33 Certain zebras
34 Attire for Count Dracula and Doctor Strange
35 Gets with
37 Overexcited volunteer's response
38 Whim-whams
39 Superlatively buoyant
42 Universal self of Hinduism
45 Pepper with questions, say
46 ___ bag (purse type)
48 Monthly releases?

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

C	R	A	B		C	L	E	A	R	A	S	M	U	D
L	E	T	O		T	O	R	T	E	L	L	I	N	I
A	S	T	O		E	A	R	L	Y	B	I	R	D	S
W	E	E		M	A	D				E	P	E	E	S
F	A	N	D	O	M		R	O	P	E		N	A	E
O	R	D	E	R		B	A	H	A		P	A	D	S
O	C	E	A	N		I	N	R	U	S	H			
T	H	E	L	I	T	E	R	A	L	W	O	R	S	T
			I	N	A	B	I	T		A	B	A	T	E
O	T	T	O		C	E	O	S		T	O	W	E	D
A	R	O		S	O	R	T		T	A	S	S	E	L
F	O	R	T	H				J	E	T		C	P	A
I	M	P	R	I	M	A	T	U	R		T	O	E	S
S	P	O	O	N	E	R	I	S	M		U	R	N	S
H	E	R	D	E	D	C	A	T	S		B	E	S	O

Online subscriptions: Today's puzzle and more than 9,000 past puzzles, nytimes.com/crosswords ($39.95 a year).

Read about and comment on each puzzle: nytimes.com/wordplay.

JAMES PONIEWOZIK | CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

TV Viewers Feel the Pain of the Ax

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

JOHN P. JOHNSON/HBO

"Westworld" ran for four seasons on HBO but has been removed from Max, its streaming service.

Great" has been deposed. A string of high-profile Netflix cancellations has become the stuff of protests and memes.

With all this has come a new belief: that TV series are now being canceled at an unprecedented rate, and you can't count on any show sticking around anymore. Netflix, said a recent piece in Cinemablend, "seems to cancel its original shows with unjustified speed and harshness," with many series lasting only "one or two seasons."

I have had my heart broken enough over the years by enough cancellations to sympathize with disappointed fans. But to paraphrase a series that did get a full run: Oh, my sweet summer children, what do you know about premature cancellation?

The streaming era, in truth, has nothing on the blood baths of the regular-old-TV era. There was a period in my lifetime — and unless you are a precocious grade-schooler, your lifetime too — when it was not only *not* unusual for series to get the ax after Season 1, it was the norm.

Let's take 2011-12, the last broadcast TV season to begin before Netflix entered the original-series business with "Lilyhammer" in 2012. At the time, only around one-third of new broadcast series made it past their first seasons. Of the rest, many were yanked midrun, with no warning, before even airing all the episodes they'd shot.

A few series that season would go on for healthy runs: "New Girl"; "Scandal"; "Last Man Standing." But a scan of the premiere list is a sea of red ink and broken dreams. "Terra Nova," the expensive dinosaur flop on Fox, was extinct by December. ABC's "Work It," about men who dressed as women to land jobs in a bad economy, was fired after two episodes. "Pan Am," "How to Be a Gentleman," "I Hate My Teenage Daughter," dead, dead, dead.

This was not, in retrospect, a great season of network TV (we can thank or blame it for "Smash," which actually got a second season). But it was not an unusual one either. Networks' standard procedure was to hurl pilots toward success like sperm toward an egg. Most would not make it. (Some special shows, like Fox's racy 1999 high-school drama "Manchester Prep," the first TV series set I ever visited as a critic, were canceled before airing a single episode.)

Cancellation, in those days, was not a disappointed assessment made after seeing the performance of a full season. It was summary execution in the street. One Thursday, you were strutting your stuff opposite "The Office"; the next, nothing was left but a grease spot and a "Big Bang Theory" rerun.

And even if you survived a first season, your eventual end would usually not offer closure. It was just lights out, and not the artsy "Sopranos" kind. Having a show "end on its own terms" was not an expectation; it was a freaking *event*. "Cheers," "Seinfeld," "Lost" — for these series to air planned finales that wrapped up their stories (or tried to) was unusual enough to merit wall-to-wall media coverage.

Nor was a small, intense niche of fans enough to save a show. To love daring, out-of-the-box TV back then was to have loved and lost, to see an innovative show premiere and think, "Yeah, that's totally getting canceled." And usually you would be right. "Freaks and Geeks." "My So-Called Life." "Firefly." I have *scars*, my friend.

Of course, in the broadcast era you got these shows for free — or for "free" if you didn't count buying your TV set and the time invested in watching unskippable commercials. But that meant that you got the level of certainty that you paid for — and what the advertising revenues didn't pay for, you didn't get.

Like cable before it, streaming promised to change the game. Netflix and its competition tended to wait longer to pull the plug in the early days. As with everything in TV, there were business reasons for this. They operated more like tech companies, willing to bleed money to establish first-mover advantage. And because they were building libraries of original programming (to be less dependent on acquisitions), they were motivated to be patient.

Now these platforms have gotten bigger, and there are more of them. Wall Street has become insistent on growth and returns. And that means that the new era of TV has turned to an old TV-business strategy: Cut, cut, cut.

But not only have Netflix, Max and the rest not invented the practice of killing shows, they are still relative amateurs at it. A 2023 study by The Wrap found that Netflix formally canceled a mere 11 percent of its new shows, far below the broadcast rate. (The analysis did note that Netflix aired many single-season "limited series" that might have been, er, less limited had more people watched them.)

Now that we have the old-man-yelling-at-cloud part of this out of the way: Some things *are* genuinely different today. One is that streaming platforms, and to some extent cable, simply make fewer episodes of *everything*, including their biggest hits.

Success today is more like a solid four, five, six seasons — even fewer sometimes, and sometimes by the creators' choice, as with "Reservation Dogs," which I wanted to run forever and which is closing up shop after three seasons. And those seasons tend to run eight or 10 episodes, not the 22 (or more, in TV's early years) of a full network order.

Past TV classics built up affection and status through repetition. "M*A*S*H" aired 256 episodes, "Frasier" 264. We spent more time with them, allocated more neurons to their memory, than with even smash hits on Netflix like "Stranger Things" (34 episodes to date). There are still a few of those long-running TV mega-fauna in existence, like "The Simpsons," "South Park" and "Law and Order: SVU," but they are increasingly holdovers of a bygone climate.

Even for beloved shows, a new era follows an old plan: coldhearted cuts.

But maybe the biggest difference today lies in viewers' expectations. The implicit promise of streaming platforms was to empower viewers. You'd watch what you wanted when you wanted, and you would get the shows broadcast TV wouldn't make, with the closure it rarely provided.

Today's "Netflix/Max/Amazon cancels everything!" outrage may be the product of a relatively short historical period of subsidized patience. But you can't entirely blame subscribers for expecting things to stay that way.

Meanwhile, where streaming once promised an endless video vault, lately canceled series like "Westworld" and "Willow" have been pulled from the services' libraries altogether. Not being able to watch a canceled show is also nothing new, of course; once the ax fell in the prestreaming era, the reruns were accessible only on VHS or DVD or, more likely, in your memory.

That, again, was assumed to be the deal. Easy come, easy go. Now that TV has won similar status to art forms like film and literature, you'd think it would have a similar permanence, or should.

Yes, it costs real money — in residual and licensing payments, for instance — to keep an old series available on streaming. Viewers may not be aware of the cost. But they are aware that they're paying $10 a month and up (and up and up . . .) per service. It's only reasonable for them to ask what they're getting.

Streaming platforms like to promote themselves as disrupters and innovators. Cancellations, instead, are one more means by which they are recreating TV's oldest practices — albeit with a twist. TV has always found ways to break our hearts. The difference now is that it's found new ways to make us pay for the privilege.

THEATER DIRECTORY
Your daily guide to theater

BROADWAY

SIX
"ALL HAIL!"
- Vogue
BROADWAY'S "EUPHORIC CELEBRATION!"
- Entertainment Weekly
WINNER OF 23 AWARDS Including The 2022 TONY AWARD FOR BEST ORIGINAL SCORE
The New York Times Critic's Pick
+
|
.....
((((((!))))))
\\\SIX///
=====
SIX
Written by 2022 Tony Award Winners TOBY MARLOW & LUCY MOSS
Today at 3 & 8, Sun at 2 & 7
SixOnBroadway.com
Groups (10+): 1-800-BROADWAY x2
Lena Horne Theatre (+), 256 W. 47 St

LIMITED ENGAGEMENTS

ASI WIND's INNER CIRCLE
NEW YORK TIMES CRITIC'S PICK
"ASTONISHING! ONE OF THE FINEST PRACTITIONERS OF CLOSE-UP MAGIC WORKING TODAY. A MASTER AT THE TOP OF HIS GAME." -THE NEW YORK TIMES
"#1 MAGIC SHOW IN NYC!" -TIME OUT NY
"DAZZLING AND ASTONISHING!" -THE NEW YORKER
David Blaine Presents
ASI WIND'S INNER CIRCLE
www.AsiWind.com
Judson Theatre
243 Thompson Street
(Across from Washington Square Park)
Now extended through January 7

THIS SIGN (+) WHEN FOLLOWING THE NAME OF A THEATER, INDICATES THAT A SHOW IS EQUIPPED WITH AN INFRARED ASSISTIVE LISTENING DEVICE.

ANGELIKA FILM CENTER
Join our FREE Membership to earn points & get rewards!
angelikafilmcenter.com | Corner of Houston & Mercer | 212-995-2570
ARISTOTLE & DANTE DISCOVER THE SECRETS OF THE UNIVERSE
12:00, 2:20(OC), 4:40, 7:00, 9:50PM
BOTTOMS
10:20, 11:20AM, 12:40(OC), 3:00, 4:00, 5:15, 6:15, 7:30, 8:30, 9:45, 10:40PM
GOLDA
11:40(OC)AM, 2:10, 4:35, 7:00, 9:25PM
THEATER CAMP
11:00AM, 1:15, 3:30(OC), 5:45, 8:00, 10:15PM
PAST LIVES
11:45(OC)AM, 1:30, 4:45, 7:20, 9:45PM
STREAMING - CURATED FOR FILM LOVERS
AngelikaAnywhere.com - OC = OPEN CAPTION SHOWINGS

Film at Lincoln Center
PASSAGES
12:15, 2:15, 4:15, 6:15, 8:15PM
AFIRE 1:15, 4:00, 6:30, 8:45PM
KOREAN CINEMA'S GOLDEN DECADE: THE 1960S
THE GREAT MONSTER YONGGARY: 2:15PM (35MM)
SPACE MONSTER WANGMAGWI: 4:00PM
THE HOUSEMAID: 6:00PM
GORYEOJANG: 8:30PM (NEW RESTORATION)
144 & 165 W. 65th St. filmlinc.org

Open the app.
Open the world.
The New York Times app.
Download now.
The New York Times

The New York Times
Games
Play wherever you are.
Try the Crossword, the Mini, Spelling Bee, Tiles and more from anywhere.
nytimes.com/games

CLAIRE SHAFFER | FILM REVIEW

BRUNO CALVO/WARNER BROS.

Taissa Farmiga returns as Sister Irene in "The Nun II," a sequel to the 2018 movie.

That Old Demonic Force Is Off to Boarding School

A franchise continues a fright formula with a splash of religious world building.

Nun II
Rated R for ecclesiastical violence. Running time: 1 hour 50 minutes. In theaters.

JUMP SCARES ABOUND in "The Nun II," a sequel to the 2018 film, which was itself a spinoff of the "Conjuring" franchise. It continues the misadventures of Sister Irene (Taissa Farmiga) and the demonic force Valak (Bonnie Aarons).

This time, the call is coming from inside a house of religious education. While investigating a string of murders across Europe, Sister Irene posits that Maurice (Jonas Bloquet), or Frenchie, as he's known — her farm boy companion from "The Nun" — may have become possessed by the demon force and, if so, is unknowingly harboring it at the Catholic boarding school in France where he now works. It's up to Sister Irene and her new companion, a skeptical novitiate named Sister Debra (Storm Reid), to race over and stop the demon before it unleashes its full horrors.

The pacing of the film, set in the 1950s and directed by Michael Chaves, is too neat: It runs like haunted clockwork, shoving characters down dark alleyways or abandoned chapels every five minutes with little justification. Scene after scene builds fear and tension, and then a monster appears, and then . . . not much else, in most cases.

Not everything in "The Nun II" is centered on screams. There's also lore involving St. Lucy, patron saint of the blind, plus a holy relic that might point to Sister Irene's ancestral origin. Maybe this is the sort of intricate world building that avid watchers of the "Conjuring" movies are deeply invested in. Or maybe — if the gasps and guffaws in my theater are any indication — audiences are mostly there to watch a headmistress being bludgeoned to death by a thurible.

JON CARAMANICA | MUSIC REVIEW

She's Seen The World, And Now She's Livid

With her second album, Olivia Rodrigo shows how fraught life is at the top.

CHANTAL ANDERSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Olivia Rodrigo's "Guts" toggles between bratty rock gestures and piano-driven melancholy.

ONE OF THE FUNDAMENTAL conditions — or is it goals? — of pop stardom is hiding the work. You may see Beyoncé sweat, or note how Taylor Swift's real-life travails inform her artistic choices, but the music created by the most famous performers in pop rarely refers back to the costs, literal and emotional, of making it.

But what if you want to show the work?

That's the novel approach of Olivia Rodrigo, a modern and somewhat signature pop star. At the beginning of 2021, she released "Drivers License," her first single outside the Disney ecosystem she was creatively raised in, and experienced the kind of supernova ascent that's impossible to anticipate or recreate. Her jolting debut album, "Sour," released a few months later, showed her to be a spiky, vivid writer and singer, but one who hadn't quite seen the world.

Two years later, on her poignantly fraught, spiritually and sonically agitated follow-up album "Guts," Rodrigo has seen too much. "Guts" is an almost real-time reckoning with the maelstrom of new celebrity, the choices it forces upon you and the compromises you make along the way. As on "Sour," Rodrigo, who is 20 now, toggles between bratty rock gestures and piano-driven melancholy. But regardless of musical mode, her emotional position is consistent throughout these dozen songs about betrayal, regret and self-flagellation.

"I used to think I was smart/But you made me look so naïve," she howls on the lead single "Vampire" — she's referring to a toxic ex, but she may as well be singing about the spotlight itself. Or as she puts it on "Making the Bed," "I got the things I wanted/It's just not what I imagined."

Rodrigo is a songwriter of rather astonishing purity — even in her most stylized lyrics, she never wanders far from the unformed gut-kick of a feeling. Sometimes on this album, she triples down. "I loved you truly/Gotta laugh at the stupidity," she chuckles on "Vampire." "I look so stupid thinking/Two plus two equals five/and I'm the love of your life," she croons on "Logical." "My God, how could I be so stupid," she sighs on "Love Is Embarrassing."

Don't mistake Rodrigo's weakness for weakness, though. Her self-doubt is a powerful animating force. Throughout this album, she kiln-fires her anxieties into lyrics that cut deep. "Pretty Isn't Pretty" is about the existential struggle of self-love, particularly under an unrelenting public eye. The impudent "Ballad of a Homeschooled Girl" captures the essence of outsider awkwardness.

The dreamy — and perhaps "Folklore"-esque — "Lacy" is about being robbed of your illusions: "I despise my rotten mind/ and how much it worships you," Rodrigo sings. From a young star who's had what appears to be frosty relations with Swift, an idol who was retroactively granted songwriting credit on Rodrigo's first album, it reads like the bruise from a door slammed shut in her face.

Several other songs are about being on the wrong side of a manipulative relationship. "Logical" and "The Grudge" tackle it via self-serious angst. But Rodrigo has more spark when she's playfully ambivalent about how, or if, to break free. "Bad Idea Right?," driven by throbbing bass and drizzled with layered, saccharine chanting, is about how holding on can be more fun than letting go. And "Get Him Back!" is a revenge fantasy — "I wanna meet his mom/ Just to tell her her son sucks" — that's maybe, just maybe, leaning in to double entendre.

The real casualties documented in these songs are the relationships Rodrigo has, or had, with her actual friends. On "Get Him Back!" she imagines their disappointment as she sends a note to that risible ex. On "Love Is Embarrassing" she recounts telling them breathlessly about her new obsession, only to have him let her down immediately thereafter. It's not that her old life is sitting in judgment of her new one, but rather that she's lost touch with the anchors that grounded her, and she's floating into a grotesque unknown. "Getting drunk at a club with my fair-weather friends," she laments on "Making the Bed."

All of those songs are, in one way or another, about the perils of being wide-eyed. But Rodrigo is also beginning to harden her shell. On "All-American Bitch," which opens the album, she details the impossible standard for young women in the public eye: "I'm grateful all the time/I'm sexy and I'm kind/ I'm pretty when I cry."

Olivia Rodrigo
CRITIC'S PICK
"Guts"
(Geffen)

And she sings with breezy confidence about physical intimacy in a way more akin to hyperstylized dance-floor-focused pop stars who use sexuality as performance. On "Logical," she replays how an ex belittled her: "Said I was too young, I was too soft/ Can't take a joke, can't get you off." The moody "Making the Bed" uses the title phrase as a recurring motif of restoration, or perhaps of papering over misspent nights with fresh sheets.

Rodrigo writes her own lyrics, and "Guts" is produced by Daniel Nigro, who was also her creative partner on "Sour." That small circle frees her from the committee-tested gleam of most mainstream pop. Her sudden success means she has not (yet?) needed to subject herself to the homogenization of the Max Martins of the world — she has succeeded by rendering her intimacies on a grand stage. That's part of why "Guts" leans heavily into rock — pop-punk ("All-American Bitch," "Ballad of a Homeschooled Girl"), a little new wave ("Love Is Embarrassing"), theatrical folk ("Lacy") — which gives her songs thickness and a little bit of rowdiness, too. But some of this album's most punk moments, as it were, come when Rodrigo unleashes holy hell while Nigro simply plays the piano.

On her debut album, Rodrigo made semi-subtle nods to earlier female pop stars — there can still sometimes be the sense that she is constructing her songs of pre-existing parts, whether from Swift or Alanis Morissette or Avril Lavigne or Veruca Salt. The winks come in the song titles — "Love Is Embarrassing" nods to Sky Ferreira, a parallel-universe meta-pop star of a decade ago who also trafficked in seen-it-all realness. And then there's the album closer, "Teenage Dream," which invokes Katy Perry, the archetypically glossy 21st-century pop princess.

Perry's "Teenage Dream" is a naïve cupcake, an exhortation to live, laugh, love. Rodrigo's is a morbid piano plaint about the falsity beneath all that. The dream is a mirage, and Rodrigo is pulling back the curtain on it: "I fear that they already got all the best parts of me/And I'm sorry that I couldn't always be your teenage dream."

Here, and in the most potent moments on "Guts," Rodrigo's music pulses with the verve of someone who's been buttoned tight beginning to come loose. Unraveling is messy business, but it is also freedom.

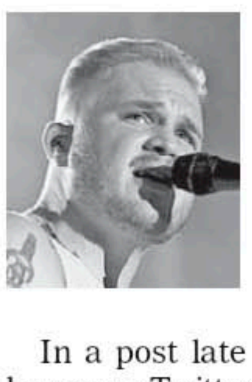
Zach Bryan Apologizes After Arrest In Oklahoma

The singer said he was briefly jailed after an incident with the state highway patrol.

By BEN SISARIO

The singer-songwriter Zach Bryan was arrested and briefly jailed in rural Oklahoma on Thursday, a few days after he reached a career milestone by landing both the No. 1 album and single for the first time.

Mr. Bryan, 27, was arrested in Vinita, Okla., and charged with obstructing an officer, a misdemeanor, according to Oklahoma Highway Patrol, which made the arrest. On social media, Mr. Bryan said he was released later the same day. A mug shot of the singer, apparently taken at the Craig County Sheriff's Office, where he was jailed, began circulating on social media shortly thereafter, though as of Friday morning it was not available on the sheriff's website.



In a post late Thursday on X, formerly known as Twitter, Mr. Bryan apologized and said: "Today I had an incident with the Oklahoma Highway Patrol. Emotions got the best of me and I was out of line in the things I said. I support law enforcement as much as anyone can, I was just frustrated in the moment."

Later, in a series of videos posted on Instagram Stories, Mr. Bryan — who grew up in nearby Oologah, Okla. — gave an account of the incident. He said that while on a trip to Boston to see a football game, he saw his security guard pulled over in another vehicle. Mr. Bryan said he parked nearby, stepped out of his car and was warned by the police officer to return to his vehicle or risk being jailed, but he refused.

Mr. Bryan described being disrespectful to the officer, including interrupting him while he spoke. "It was ridiculous, it was immature, and I just pray everyone knows that I don't think I'm above the law," he said on Instagram. "I was just being disrespectful and I shouldn't have been, and it was my mistake."

A spokesman for Mr. Bryan did not immediately respond to a request for further comment.

Mr. Bryan, whose work is variously classified as country, rock or Americana folk, drew acclaim for some self-released albums before putting out "American Heartbreak" last year on Warner Records. Last month he released his latest album, "Zach Bryan," which contains a hit duet with Kacey Musgraves, "I Remember Everything."

VIA THE MANHATTAN DISTRICT ATTORNEY'S OFFICE

Among the seized objects, mosaics from the third to fifth centuries, above left, and twin statuettes of Castor and Pollux, above right.

Looted Artifacts Returned to Lebanon

Some pieces were seized from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, others from a collector.

By TOM MASHBERG

New York and federal authorities handed back 12 looted antiquities valued at $9 million to Lebanon on Thursday, including three objects removed from the Metropolitan Museum of Art last year during a flurry of multimillion-dollar seizures there.

Taken from the museum were twin marble statuettes of the Greek mythological figures Castor and Pollux, valued at $800,000, and a bronze sculpture on loan to the Met from Shelby White, an art patron and museum trustee, which depicts a nude male worshiper and is valued by authorities at $1.2 million.

The three items were seized as part of an investigation by the Manhattan district attorney's office into several international smuggling rings. The investigation last year led to the seizure of another 27 ancient artifacts valued at $13 million from the Met. The seizure of the three Met items returned on Thursday had not been previously disclosed by investigators.

In a statement, museum officials said, "Each of these objects has unique and complex circumstances, and with all, the Metropolitan Museum of Art has been fully supportive of the Manhattan district attorney's office investigations."

The other nine items repatriated during a ceremony in New York on Thursday were mosaics from the third through fifth centuries, when Rome ruled the Mediterranean region that includes what is now Lebanon. Investigators valued the mosaics at $7 million.

The mosaics, which depict gods, gladiators and mythical beasts, were seized along with 15 other objects in 2021 from a New Jersey storage unit by officials from U.S. Homeland Security Investigations and the district attorney's office. The unit was rented by Georges Lotfi, 82, a retired Lebanese-born pharmaceutical executive and sometime New York resident who collected and dealt in art.

At the time, law enforcement officials said Mr. Lotfi had helped them by occasionally providing information that aided antiquities-smuggling investigations over the years. For example, they said, his information helped identify the network that stole an important Egyptian relic, "Nedjemankh and His Gilded Coffin," which the Met had acquired for $4 million in 2017 but was forced to send back to Egypt in 2019.

Authorities say the 12 repatriated objects are valued at $9 million.

But by 2022, investigators said, their relations with Mr. Lotfi had soured. They said he refused to give up ownership of the items taken from his storage unit, insisting he had acquired and imported them legally. In response, prosecutors last August issued an arrest warrant charging Mr. Lotfi, who was living in Lebanon, with 24 counts of criminal possession of stolen property.

Mr. Lotfi, in interviews and social media postings, has ardently proclaimed his innocence. "I was fighting with them for 10 years to stop illicit trading, and they turned against me," he told The Times last year.

In the warrant, prosecutors from the district attorney's Antiquities Trafficking Unit said Mr. Lotfi had overstepped when he expressly invited them in 2021 to inspect the storage unit in Jersey City. Investigators said they suspected Mr. Lotfi was showing them the contents as a ruse to get them to grant the objects a stamp of approval.

Investigators grew suspicious, however, when they saw that many of Mr. Lotfi's warehoused items were encrusted with dirt — a sign, they said, that the objects had been illegally dug up. They added that Mr. Lotfi had no export licenses.

Matthew Bogdanos, chief of the trafficking unit, said on Thursday that Mr. Lotfi is in Tripoli, Lebanon, and is being monitored by the Lebanese authorities. He said Mr. Lotfi's passport was confiscated after Interpol put out a fugitive alert, known as a Red Notice, for his arrest in May.

In an online posting last year, Mr. Lotfi said all his items "were bought from licensed traders" and legally imported. He described himself as a longtime collector who has rescued objects that might otherwise have been destroyed during his country's civil war.

At the ceremony on Thursday, officials painted a different picture.

"These pieces sat in apartments, storage units and museums when they should have been in Lebanon," the Manhattan district attorney, Alvin L. Bragg Jr., said.

Lebanon's consul general in New York, Abir Taha Audi, said in an interview that the theft of cultural objects like the mosaics had been "a plague" on her nation since its civil war years, from 1975 to 1990.

"When you steal a nation's cultural heritage, you are stealing its memory, its history and its identity," she said.

Artmaking's Materials Are the Draw

PHOTOGRAPHS BY VINCENT TULLO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1
tects, they are the married principals of the Manhattan firm KOKO Architecture + Design, which designed the studio.)

"But we're not trying to make a kids' museum here," Weintraub said. "We are really trying to always tie it back to what's upstairs."

The ground-floor space, in the Met's Uris Center for Education, aims to be free in every sense. Children ages 3 to 11 and their caregivers, who pay no admission fee to the studio, can choose their own path through its seven stations, which include places to make art, build structures and investigate optics. The studio also includes a reimagined version of the Nolen Library for the young, which formerly occupied the space.

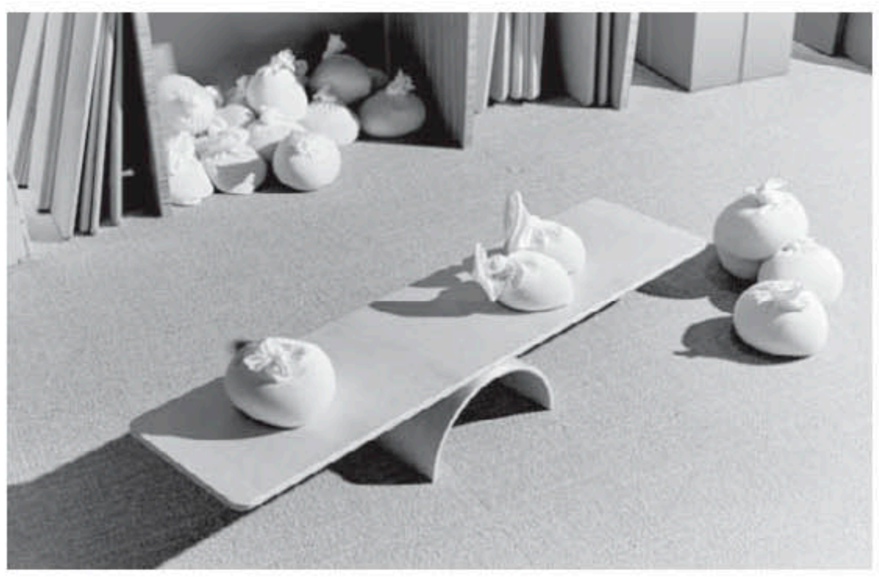
Holder wanted the renovation to allow young visitors to do what they can't in the Met's existing family programs: drop in unscheduled, touch what they see, play child-friendly instruments. The studio may be the only spot in a museum where families can encounter a custom-made eight-foot-tall guitar or recline on pillows scented with sandalwood, cedar and pine.

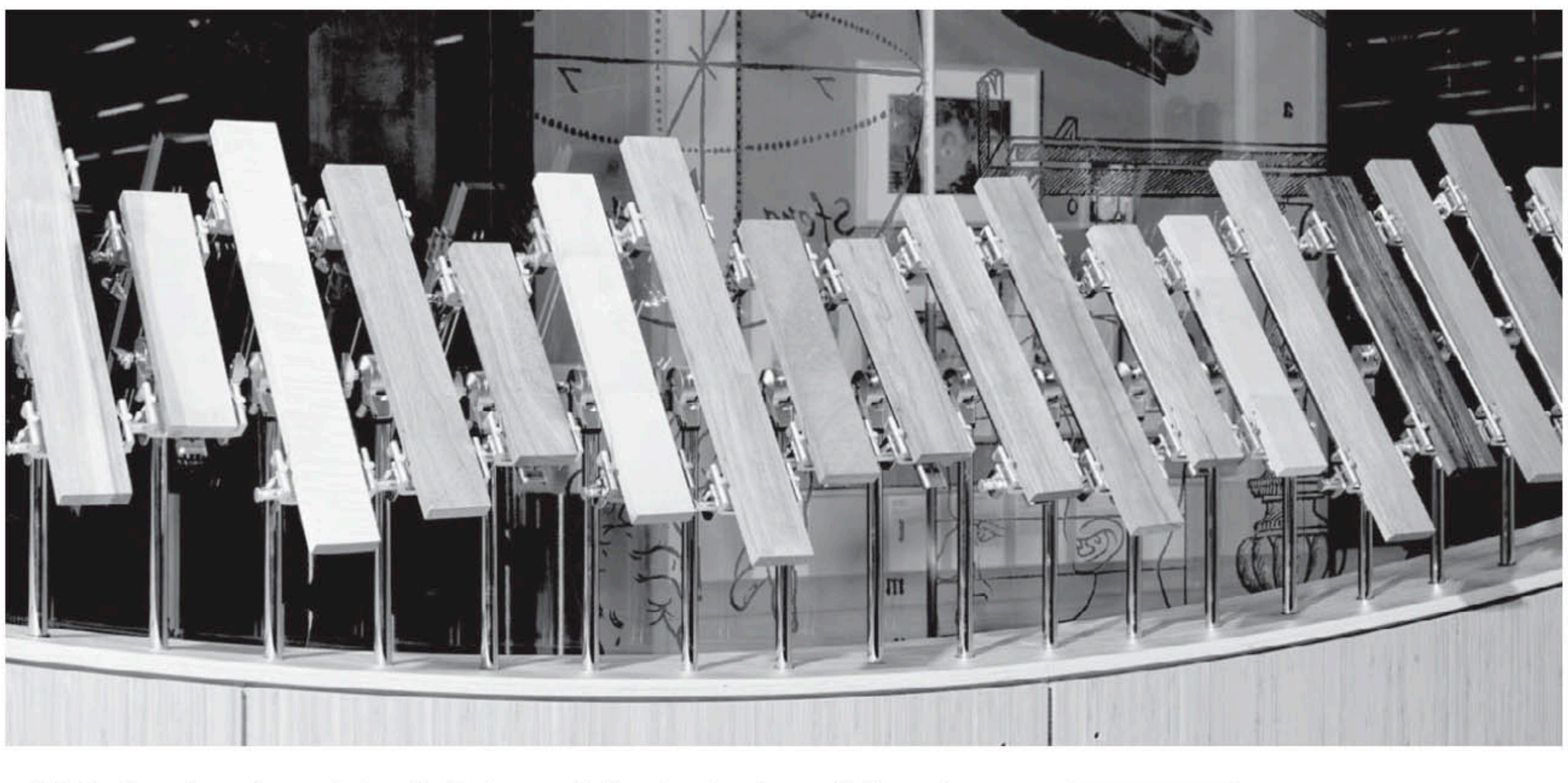
The studio offers "videos where you can see someone in Papua New Guinea painting a mask, or you're seeing someone carving a piece of wooden furniture," Holder said, adding that these visual back stories reveal processes never glimpsed in the galleries.

The space's inaugural visitors will view how such artists use wood, clay and metal, especially wood. One station features 17 varieties to investigate, from birch bark to cross-sections of a 19th-century oak picture frame to a reproduced panel of an Egyptian turned-wood screen called a mashrabiyya. "You could see the exact one upstairs," Hosono said, but here children can feel it.

After at least a year, the studio's focal substance will rotate, possibly to metal. In that case, Holder said, the building station, now filled with cardboard, tape and wooden modules, might become a robotics space. The studio's changing identity will not only reflect the breadth of the collection but also encourage repeat visits.

In the Metropolitan Museum of Art's new 81st Street Studio, above, a screen with a blinking, animated eye. Clockwise from top: a light table where children can adjust dials to see objects change hue; Heidi Holder, the Met's chair of education; the intersection of art and science; part of a giant marimba that visitors can play; and a reading nook.





Seeking to draw curious children, the Met hired the New York firm Bluecadet to design the studio's digital technology. "Kids, particularly, are on devices all the time," said Josh Goldblum, Bluecadet's founder and chief executive. He said he wanted experiences that wouldn't lead to endless staring at screens, but were "really about creating conversation and serendipity."

These include a station where a child can imitate woodblock printing by using a stylus to etch a design onto a small, black-coated wooden slab. Simple directions and step-by-step photos, as well as images of museum artworks, pop up on the surface of the table in response to taps. When children have finished their designs, they can tap again and choose among options like repeating the woodblock pattern, changing its color or achieving a surprise effect — all results that appear as images on the tabletop. A drum-making station functions similarly, allowing visitors to create a simple instrument of cardboard and cloth while seeing drums from the collection and hearing their recorded sounds.

Even when children aren't engaged in projects, the studio surrounds them with what Holder calls "subtle magic." When visitors pass a wall of books — the library features six languages, as well as Braille — they hear a knock, as if to gain admission to an enchanted world. When they sit in one of the library's reading nooks, the enveloping lighting changes color.

But maybe most intriguing are two round screens, each featuring a blinking, animated eye. When a child approaches a screen, the eye shuts, and images from the Met's collection take its place. On one screen, as the photographs appear successively, you first see a detail — say, a bird or a border — and then a full view of the relevant object.

"It's kind of like a mini version of what the Met is, being like a telescope to all of these different cultures and time periods," said Nina Callaway, a senior narrative strategist at Bluecadet.

The other eye screen, at toddler level, reveals images from modern video art. It introduces a nearby corner optics station with a light table where children can choose cards bearing photographs of numerous Met objects — a falcon-shaped ancient Egyptian statue, a medieval suit of royal French armor — and see them projected on the walls. By turning dials, visitors can change variables like shadow, color, angle and distance and see how they affect the objects pictured.

In less sophisticated optical experiments, preschool visitors can put plastic objects on a separate light table and adjust dials to see them change hue, or draw with their hands on a thermo-chromatic wall that produces color in response to temperature.

"You're learning science, but we're just not telling you," Holder said with a laugh.

Art and science intersect again in the music station, whose instruments might seem more appropriate for Dr. Seuss than for a symphony. But Kip Washio, a designer for Yamaha, led a team that conceived the custom pieces to be able to function like an orchestra — which musicians will prove at the Saturday festival.

"One of the challenges was, how do we do things that aren't just percussion-based?" Weintraub asked. "Because percussion is easy." He immediately thought: "How can we do strings? Can we do wind?" he said.

The results include two standing guitars, the eight-foot model and a shorter one, each with a single childproof string made of fishing line and a pedal at the base to change the pitch. Children can also experiment with a wall of castanets, play a giant wooden marimba and, just by pushing bellows, make music on a giant air organ patterned after an 1830 design by Thomas Appleton.

In every area, Holder hopes that visual representations of items from the Met's collections will inspire children to investigate the real thing. (A QR code in the studio calls up a complete list, which is also on the studio's website.) And the discoveries don't end at the door: The studio's Family Field Guide suggests searching Central Park for boxwood trees after examining an enclosed photo of a cross-section of an intricately carved 500-year-old boxwood prayer bead.

The studio "is a manifestation of who we are," Holder said. If the museum "were to have a personality," she added, "it would be this space."

It's 'like a telescope to all of these different cultures and time periods.'

NINA CALLAWAY
BLUECADET STRATEGIST, SPEAKING OF THE MET'S NEW CHILDREN'S LEARNING CENTER

Travel

Nature Shapes Life on the Faroe Islands

PHOTOGRAPHS BY DAVID B. TORCH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Otherworldly scenery nurtures the creative spirit on this North Atlantic archipelago.

By JEANINE BARONE

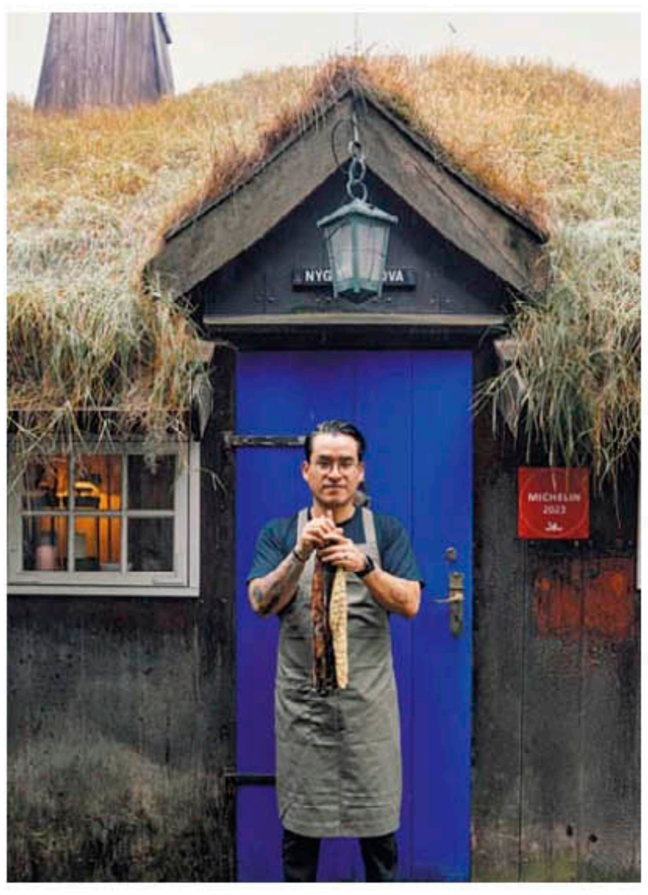
Huddled in the North Atlantic among Iceland, Scotland and Norway, the Faroes — an 18-island archipelago and self-governing nation within the Kingdom of Denmark — captivates visitors the instant they land at the airport on the island of Vágar. Silence saturates the emerald green slopes and basalt cliffs. Sheep roam the grassy expanses that are sliced vertically by dark rocky threads caused by the erosion of streams. It's hard to keep your eyes focused on the road as you behold a gauzy mist swirling around the mountains, veiling deep gorges, wide fjords, occasional turf-roofed dwellings and waterfalls.

In this isolated land with its sparse population of some 54,400 people, the environment's magic is pervasive — one reason, perhaps, why the Faroes also bubble with human innovation that takes its cue from nature. And getting there is easier than ever — Atlantic Airways just started its first nonstop flights from the United States (from Stewart International Airport, about 60 miles from Manhattan).

Consider the islands' 14 miles of subsea tunnels that are currently open. The newest, at about seven miles, takes drivers from Tórshavn, the cosmopolitan capital of the Faroes, on the island of Streymoy (the largest island), to Eysturoy (the second largest island). Said to be the world's first subsea tunnel with a roundabout, its unusual design features a multicolored illuminated pillar encircled by a steel installation of people holding hands, by the Faroese artist Tróndur Patursson. To augment the experience of driving through the tunnel, tune in to 97.0 FM to listen to the spellbinding soundscape created by the musician Jens L. Thomsen, who said he "wanted to find the voice of the tunnel." Another art-infused subsea tunnel is scheduled to open by Christmas, making for faster travel between Tórshavn and Sandoy, one of the southern isles.

Coastal Tórshavn — one of the world's smallest capitals — is itself a nexus of creativity, embracing the contemporary without losing its connection to the past. The old quarter, populated by centuries-old turf-roofed houses, covers a peninsula that juts into the busy harbor. Walk the city's winding lanes, steep alleyways and wide boulevards, and you'll find buzzy coffee shops, wine bars and fashion emporia. Rather than just using Tórshavn as a base for island hopping, stay awhile and explore the city's food, fashion and art.

Top, sheep roam on many parts of the Faroe Islands, and their thick wool generates jobs and income. Right, Sebastian Jiménez is the chef at Raest in Tórshavn, the capital, and razor clams are a favorite at ROKS, also in the capital. Below, many homes in Tórshavn have traditional roofs covered with turf.



For Food Lovers

A sense of whimsy pervades ROKS (meaning "silly"), the laid-back sister restaurant to two-Michelin-starred KOKS (temporarily decamped to Greenland, but returning to Streymoy in 2025). Occupying a two-story, turf-roofed structure dating to at least the 1600s, the space is filled with amusing art, including depictions of an octopus holding glasses of red wine. The seasonal offerings, created by the head chef, Poul Andrias Ziska, showcase the Faroes' fish and shellfish bounty in two tasting menus (595 and 895 Danish kroner, or about $87 and $130). The razor clams, a must-try, are served raw, accompanied by a vinaigrette and shallot sauce, and sprinkled with yellow dandelion and white sweet cicely blossoms.

Across the rugged cobbled lane stands another old building, housing a different kind of restaurant. With three homey dining rooms adorned with photos of former Tórshavn residents from the late 1800s and early 1900s, Raest, which means "fermented," honors this enduring Faroese method for preserving food. The chef, Sebastian Jiménez, hails from Atlixco, Mexico, and puts a Mexican twist on the traditional fermented cuisine served in the 14-course tasting menu (1,400 kroner), each dish assembled like a work of art. Faroese flatbread, for example, is fashioned into a tortilla and topped with a pan-fried langoustine, fermented carrots and pipián rojo, a mole-type sauce that Jiménez's mother regularly cooks.

A treat for oenophiles (and art aficionados), Vingardurin (meaning "wine garden"), is where the Faroese art reviewer and critic Kinna Poulsen curates works by mostly Faroese artists. This unpretentious wine bar and art gallery is an ideal setting for sipping wines from mainland Europe, nibbling on Iberian ham and manchego cheese and mingling with artists at the bimonthly exhibition openings, which are held in the snug, candlelit space and, in good weather, the spacious backyard terrace. Elsa Maria Holm Olsen, a co-owner, selects the wine cellar's more than 200 different bottles, and sources ingredients such as cockles, squid and various charcuterie from Spain, France and Italy. There's one nightly seating (Thursday to Saturday) for the five-course tasting menu that changes several times a year and can be paired with wine (1,300 kroner, with wine).

For the Style-Conscious

Fluffy sheep are ubiquitous in the Faroes, as are the bulky sweaters made from their thick wool. But two shops — both on Niels Finsens gøta, a major shopping street in Tórshavn — defy expectations. Ullvoruhusid ("wool wear house") features racks of long, stylish cardigans, sweaters and vests, all with a minimalist silhouette — hardly what you'd expect a fisherman or farmer to wear (1,500 to 2,500 kroner). Sissal Kristiansen, a co-owner of the shop, created her Shisa Brand using predominantly undyed Faroese wool, working in the wool's natural shades of gray, brown and white. Knitting since she was a child, Ms. Kristiansen mostly designs apparel that flatters the female figure, some bearing side slits. It shouldn't be at all surprising that the fog-draped landscape influences her. "The side slits were inspired by the layering in the landscape, when I looked at the mountains through the fog," she said.

At Gudrun & Gudrun, owned by Gudrun Ludvig and Gudrun Rógvadóttir, cocktail and ankle-length dresses bear spaghetti straps, plunging backs and, sometimes, a diaphanous texture. Delicate sweaters are made with a mix of materials: one silk and one alpaca sleeve; mohair paired with glittery threads; a patchwork of different colorful wools. You can even custom order a mohair bridal gown. Ms. Ludvig constructs some of her garments by modernizing traditional Faroese patterns, including the star that's often emblazoned on seamen's sweaters. She sources organic wool from all over the world, including the Faroes. The apparel (2,025 to 4,725 kroner) is mostly handknit in the Faroes, and also by women's empowerment groups that the owners established in Peru and Jordan.

For Art Enthusiasts

A sprawling, late-19th-century cannery building fronting the harbor is home to a lithography workshop: Steinprent (meaning "stoneprint"), which has worked with Faroese and Nordic artists over its two dozen years, relying on a printing process that dates to 1798. In the sun-flooded, second-floor space, you can watch an artist painting on the unusual beige-colored limestone, and lithographers operating the printing presses. Don't be shy: The owner, Jan Andersson, or his 22-year-old son, Mikkjal, will be delighted to show you around. Some 2,000 original lithographs are for sale (810 to 24,818 kroner). The ground-floor gallery is worth exploring for exhibitions that range from graphic arts to mixed media, mostly from the Faroes and the Nordic countries.

Also along the harbor you'll find the studio of Hansina Iversen within the ironworks shop of a shipyard building. Inside, gears and other machinery clutter the immense, shadow-laden warehouse. Yet Ms. Iversen's space is suffused with sunlight, the white walls hung with her boldly colored and pastel-hued abstract oils and lithographs (25,000 to 90,000 kroner). An appointment is necessary but worth it. Visitors can chat with the artist about her canvasses and how she takes inspiration from the Faroes' unpredictable weather.

You can also see her work at the National Gallery of the Faroe Islands, which is snuggled on a grassy expanse within the trail-laced forest known as the Plantation (90 kroner for adults). The exterior of this black, turf-roofed, multigabled building references a Faroese boat shed. Sun floods the modern interior, offering views of the surrounding woodland and the figurative bronzes of Hans Pauli Olsen that are displayed outside. The more than 200 works in the gallery's permanent collection are arranged by genre (landscape, the ocean, wool and knitting) and include the dark, melancholy, 20th-century seascapes of Samuel Joensen-Mikines, one of the Faroes' most revered artists.

A short uphill walk away is a green knoll dotted with curious sculptures, including a cluster of steel sheep by Bernhard Lipsoe. Here, the Nordic House makes a statement of unity via its design and its eclectic offerings. Each of the Nordic countries contributed to this modernist structure, including Norway (granite flooring), Finland (birch furnishings), Iceland (roof construction), Denmark (glass and steel construction), Sweden (ash wood wall panels) and the Faroes (grass roof). Faroese and Nordic theater, music, dance, cinema, art and literature are all celebrated here. Every summer, the house also hosts an afternoon concert series, mainly classical and jazz, in the glass-walled amphitheater.

GETTING AROUND

The easiest way to get to Tórshavn from Vágar Airport is by either a shared taxi (about 243 kroner; prebook at auto.fo or taxi.fo), or a rental car (around 1,000 kroner per day, including basic insurance). Downtown Tórshavn is walkable, so you don't need a car. You can also take a free bus to get around downtown and the rest of the municipality. Be aware that driving in the Faroes involves travel along narrow, winding roads where sheep will often cross your path. Winds can be quite blustery and fog can obscure visibility. Driving on other islands can involve transiting dark, single-lane tunnels that require you to veer into a pull-in if another car is approaching.

Checking Out the 'World's Longest Yard Sale'

For four days in August, stalls line U.S. Route 127 over 690 miles in six states.

Photo Essay by KENDALL WALDMAN

To the visitor driving in from out of state, the 127 Yard Sale seems like a kind of Ironman for thrifters. The "world's longest yard sale" is a test of endurance and attention. Spanning six states, 690 miles and thousands of stalls, it traverses dramatic landscapes, delicate cultural terrain and two time zones. Seeing it all in the four allotted days — Aug. 3 to 6 this year — is enough to induce vertigo. But some of us are foolish enough to try anyway.

The event was designed to promote cultural and economic exchange. In 1987, Mike Walker, then a 28-year-old county executive in Jamestown, Tenn., conceived of it as a way to lure travelers off the Interstate and into the small towns along U.S. Route 127, from Jamestown to Covington, Ky. In the next decades, it spread south to Georgia and Alabama and inched north to Ohio and then Michigan.

The 127 Yard Sale is fluid, kinetic, alive. This makes it a bit hard to find its official beginning. Driving down 127, I started to see "yard sale" signs long before reaching its northernmost point in Addison, Mich. We asked some guys at a gas station where they thought it started. They pointed to a nearby Baptist church, and soon we were standing in an orderly marketplace on a plot of pine and grass. Here I saw the first arrays of glassware, the first piles of free naked dolls, the dubbed VHS tapes, the loose silverware, the lines of floating dresses.

This couldn't be a contiguous sale — or could it? The Facebook group I'd joined suggested that Michigan was the sparsest section. But even here, we could hardly drive a quarter-mile without spying a Sharpied invitation to a "Barn Sale" a mile away, or "Thousands of Items, CHEAP, 4th House on Your Left." A subtle terror began to take hold — a respect for the enormous scale of the thing.

"You're never going to make it," a gentleman in a chicken-patterned Havana shirt informed me, with his wife by his side, nodding. "You're not even in Ohio yet and look how much time you spent talking to us." I was ashamed to tell them that this was only our second stop. Tracy Tupman and Megan Mateer turned out to be co-owners of a prop rental company in Ohio — and veterans of the yard sale. They pull up here every year in an empty truck and trailer that they expect to fill up well before the last day. Intentional thrifters, they came prepared with a list of objects they hope to secure for future productions.

That first morning, I bought an old cotton sweater. After watching me pay for it and immediately return for some Wedgwood dessert plates, a fellow thrifter warned my boyfriend to keep our money separate, lest I wipe him out by Ohio. At the edge of the parking lot a sign read, "The Lord Will Provide."

As we crossed the state line into Ohio, corn gave way to sunflowers, low fruit trees replaced pines. Yellow roadside diamonds urged respect toward horse-drawn carriages. Mennonites became fixtures of the sale. They sold traditional items: dilly beans, horse-churned ice cream, fresh-cut flowers, wooden carvings and a heartbreaking number of puppies. Their children were shy but excitable in the face of so many nonbelievers. Among the piles of pilled Lycra blends and polyesters, their plain dress stood out. It read as luxury, utilitarian haute couture. I bought myself a bonnet at one of their stands. Nodding approvingly, the seller informed me: "Most of our customers are defiant women."

Deep in farm country, the pull of Northern industrial towns could still be felt. One couple had a baroque volume of German sausage recipes, published by the Oscar Mayer corporation. The owners knew it was one of their prize pieces. The husband grew up in Wisconsin near one of the sausage conglomerate's biggest factories and told me that it shut down a few years back. There were only a few copies left, he said.

The number of sales increased in Kentucky. People were friendly, chatty, open about everything but their politics. Sometimes the friendliness and good-humored conversation masked an anxiety about making a sale. My boyfriend flirted with buying a chicken-shaped fan, discounted because of its missing tail. The two women selling it — good-humored friends who had helped each other through a series of hardships — were proud of the piece, and disappointed when we left without it. "We've only made $8 so far," they said. A sign over another stall advertised "Old Bottles and Basset Hound Puppies." The seller's son held one of the fat-bellied puppies — $450 each — tenderly in his lap, sad to see them go. A nearby needlepoint wall hanging, listed for 50 cents, read: "Friends are the best collectibles."

The dream of interstate exchange seems to be flagging these days. Vendors seemed surprised when they learned I'd come from New York, and could recall the handful of other tourists they'd encountered.

To the novice, the sales seemed to be buzzing, but almost every vendor told us otherwise. A number of people speculated that high gas prices and heat were keeping people away. It was better attended in 2020, when Covid was moving like brush fire.

Like many vendors I spoke to, Lisa Hardin said this would probably be her last time participating. At a little intersection in Junction Station, Ky., she was selling oval bowls made from buckeye, Ohio's slender state tree with a signature steel-blue grain. They were exquisite pieces, at once natural and high design. Her grandfather started making these in the 1970s. He taught her brother and cousin the craft, but wood dust and working life got in the way. Once these 10 bowls on the table were gone, the tradition would be too.

Almost every major stop had a Trump-merch stall. Confederate flags were another reliable presence, often alongside switchblades, crossbows, weed-leaf bucket hats and pink rhinestoned T-shirts. Some 50-odd yard sales in, the repetition became hypnotic. And we had yet to reach its epicenter, where the whole thing started.

Above, an invitation in Pittsford, Mich. Clockwise from top: at a sale in Russell Springs, Ky.; a wedding dress for sale in Owenton, Ky.; a display of cookware in Stanford, Ky.; Mennonite women in Owenton, Ky., consider the purchase of rollerblades; and a little bit of everything, in Harrodsburg, Ky.

When we drove into Tennessee, it was all blue fog, green leaves and black stone rivers. The roads switchbacked up mountains, a collar of trees protecting motorists from the fact of their ascent till the sky suddenly split open onto a vista. One sale, wedged into the curve of a mountain pass, had a table filled with Fisher-Price and Mattel toys that hummingbirds were trying to pollinate.

In Tennessee, the 127 Yard Sale scales up. The whole thing is professionalized. There were major stops every few miles. People ate ribbon potatoes, pulled pork, funnel cakes and fried pies, drank sweet tea from food trucks and lemonade from children's stands. Ice-cold water was sold from coolers for $1.

I met a man in Pall Mall, Tenn., minding his daughter's yard sale and feeding her chickens the biscuit part of his breakfast sandwich. We introduced ourselves — "Joe Poor, spelled like the opposite of rich." I gushed about how gothically pretty this part of the country is. "They say God waved his hand over Fentress County twice," he replied.

Saturday, the third day of the sale, had a kind of euphoria to it. Sweaty and dirty, I'd snagged a hand-painted "Wizard of Oz" dish set for $20, a heavy cluster of silver Figaro chains with dice charms, a knockoff Gaultier dress, a silk handkerchief, a Victorian candy dish for my cat and a purse shaped like a bullfrog.

In the late afternoon, temperatures edged up toward 100. Deals happened fast. The objects on display, it seemed, were the last things worth buying; anything desirable would be snatched up this very hour, and it was only getting hotter, brighter and denser.

In Cumberland County, a Memphis-fever-dream dollhouse — aqua-glass brick exterior, heart-shaped Jacuzzi, a lacquered spiral staircase — caught my eye. The owner, Myra Ramsey, hadn't missed the sale in the last 35 years. I was curious to know how it's changed. "The biggest change is less people," she said. "A lot less people."

In the early years, she told me, U.S. Route 127 was bumper-to-bumper traffic as far as the eye could see. Her husband had to perform makeshift crossing-guard duties to get their cows across the road for twice-a-day milking. Salegoers hung out in the backs of trucks with their van doors open, the road itself becoming a kind of event, even if it took an hour to go a mile.

On the last morning of the sale, a storm front announced itself, circling up from the Gulf. The southern tip of the sale had been hit a few days earlier. Extreme weather is the bane of all outdoor commerce. If vendors were checking their phones — a rare sight around here — it was to study the forecast, now so intimately intertwined with their fortunes.

The skies oscillated between drizzle and total downpour. It felt like the end of the party. Abandoning our end-to-end ambitions was unthinkable at this point, though, so despite the rain we sped south. There were another 100 miles and two states, after all.

'You're never going to make it. You're not even in Ohio yet.'

On the short detour through northern Georgia, the sale departed from its eponymous route. The official website, which is charmingly early internet, gives turn-by-turn instructions, a throwback to the days of MapQuest, when you had to print out instructions and actually mind the road signs. It was a huge comfort to reach Alabama, where the sale returns to its one-road principle.

The day was still and loud, and the drizzle made steam rise off mulch piles and muddy fields. The sky was green, then gray. A full-blown tempest hit, the downpour overwhelming the wipers, wind shaking the car, lightning spraying horizontally across the sky. On this final stretch, the yard sales were plentiful but unmanned. Apparently, the sellers had warily rebuilt their displays after the storm had passed and abandoned them again at the first hint of recurrence.

Our hope flared up again during a short dry spell. We got out at a fairground and inspected a downed pole, twisted with a dozen sodden Trump flags, wrapped up like a crepe. As we neared the final stop, in Gadsden, Ala., we saw what had driven everyone away. Stalls had been tossed like chip bags in the wind, trees were snapped in half, power lines were down, shards of goods were tossed to the woods like offerings. The temporariness of the yard sale had reasserted itself, now as calamity.

Stepping out of the car in Gadsden, with no more sales to look forward to, felt like getting off a treadmill. The movement of the sale was now within me. Every time I saw old stuff piled outside someone's house, something in me jumped. I was surrounded by a version of the world I had known before: multistory buildings, paved parking lots, so many cars headed in all directions, big businesses, and the people and their lives that maintain all this commerce, and I started to see it wholesale, and then in parts. I could imagine all these buildings turned inside out and shaken like jeans pockets, all the stuff splayed on the lawn — relics, fossils, salvage.

36 HOURS

AMSTERDAM

Often caricatured as a sex-and-drugs haven, or a kind of continental Las Vegas, Amsterdam was not always an obvious choice for European cultural travel. Its image has undergone a significant transformation in the last decade, with government efforts to shrink its famous red-light district, curb reckless partying and orient visitors to its more honorable attractions. The city has regrettably lost a bit of its formerly funky edge, and the tide of tourists can make it nearly impossible to book tickets to famous attractions, such as the Anne Frank House, at the last minute. Still, there are new, off-the-beaten-track treasures to be found. *NINA SIEGAL*

PHOTOGRAPHS BY MELISSA SCHRIEK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Top, a view of houses in the center of Amsterdam. Above from left: the entrance to the Van Gogh museum; outside Boom Chicago, a comedy club that hosts live English-language improv shows several nights a week; and the housewares store Things I Like Things I Love, located in the Nine Streets.

Friday

4 P.M. | GO BY BOAT

Amsterdam essentially emerged from a swamp. The capital was founded along the banks of the Amstel River and built on reclaimed marshlands through an extraordinary feat of water engineering. Take a boat ride to orient yourself to the Canal Belt (the Grachtengordel), the central district with a system of canal rings, water locks and bridges. Pure Boats offers a two-hour Ultimate Canal Cruise (67.50 euros, or around $73) in an elegant wood skiff with an open bar and assorted nibbles. It disembarks from the Keizersgracht, one of the quieter canal rings, traverses the Canal Belt and provides glorious views of the Dutch National Opera & Ballet, and the famous Magere Brug (Skinny Bridge).

6:30 P.M. | DINE IN A CANAL HOUSE

Booking dinner reservations in Amsterdam's center on a Friday night can be tricky; "destination" restaurants such as Restaurant De Kas, Caffé Toscanini and Café de Klepel require forward planning. Instead, cycle less than 10 minutes from the Keizersgracht to a cluster of small islands known as the Westelijke Eilanden (Western Islands), built in the early 17th century, where it feels as if nothing has changed in 400 years. There, find De Gouden Reael (by Caron), an elegant restaurant in a historic two-story canal house marked outside with a gable stone featuring a gold coin. The three- or four-course prix-fixe menus (€52 or €69) are French-inspired, but may include dishes like a ceviche of delicate raw corvina. After dinner, stroll across one of the city's oldest drawbridges, Petemayenbrug, just outside the door.

8 P.M. | LAUGH A LITTLE

Thirty years ago, two brave Chicagoans landed in Amsterdam, got high, and had the bright idea to open a comedy club in a country where they didn't speak the language. Strangely, it took. Boom Chicago hosts live English-language improv shows several nights a week in the three-story Rozentheater on the Rozengracht, a long avenue, with American and Dutch up-and-coming comedians. The company has helped launch the careers of such notable comedians as the "Late Night" host Seth Meyers, the"Get Out" filmmaker and comedian Jordan Peele, and the comedian Amber Ruffin. Although the improv sets can be hit-and-miss, it's fun to guess which comics will soon be featured on "Saturday Night Live" or their own "Late Night" sets. Friday night improv tickets, €25.95.

Saturday

9:30 A.M. | COFFEE IS CRUCIAL

If you're looking for coffee in Amsterdam, ask for a cafe — not a coffee shop (those sell hash and marijuana). Coffee is crucial in Dutch culture: Ten minutes of chit-chat with a cup is de rigueur before any meeting can begin, and they like to drink it strong and tart. (The Dutch version of a café au lait is called a koffie verkeerd, which translates to "wrong coffee," because it has more steamed milk than coffee.) Drink coffee the right way by stopping at Bruno's, a takeaway coffee bar. Old-fashioned espresso machines take up much of the inside, so the line usually spills onto Tweede Goudbloemsdwaarsstraat, the small side street. The owner Bruno is very chatty, so prepare to wait, but you won't be disappointed by his delicious cappuccinos (€4).

10:30 A.M. | SHOP AND SIGHTSEE

Walk around the corner to the Lindengracht Markt, where many locals do their weekly shopping for fresh produce, meats and cheeses. Grab some bouquets at wholesale prices, which can be astonishingly cheap (the world's largest flower auction, in the town of Aalsmeer, is a half-hour's drive away). Walk east up the street called Lindengracht so that you eventually end up at the corner of the picturesque canalside lane, Brouwersgracht, where you can climb to the top of the bridge known as Lekkeresluis (meaning "tasty sluice," a gate that controls the flow of canal water). From the bridge, see two four-century-old churches, the Noorderkerk, to the right, and farther in the distance, the lofty tower (topped with a blue ball) of the Westerkerk, and spot the swans floating past.

NOON | ENJOY STREET FOOD

Between the Lindengracht Markt and the neighboring Noordermarkt, a pricier, organic market that also has antiques, handmade jewelry, artisanal pickles, soaps and honey, there are plenty of street-food stalls. (Walking while eating is frowned upon in Dutch culture, so grab a picnic table). On the Lindengracht side, try a sabich (€7.50), a stuffed vegetarian pita at Abu Salie, or go for the speciaal beenham and braadworst (a sandwich piled high with sausage, ham and sauerkraut, €6) at Fluks & Sons. Stalls also sell raw herring, sometimes covered in onions. Join locals at the Noordermarkt for fresh oysters (from €3.50 each; find them beside the entrance, next to the church tower). Dutch sweets also abound, including the ever-popular poffertjes (mini pancakes in powdered sugar or syrup) or warm and gooey stroopwafels.

12:30 P.M. | AMBLE ALONG A CANAL

Exit the Noordermarkt by walking along the Prinsengracht, one of the city's loveliest canals, completed in 1615, toward the Westerkerk (it's currently under construction so may be surrounded by scaffolding). Next to that church is the former business address of Otto Frank, a German-Jewish refugee who moved his wife and two daughters, Anne and Margot, into the attic, in a secret hiding place behind a bookcase, which is now the location of the Anne Frank House Museum. Tickets (€16) are usually sold out months in advance. A good alternative is to visit the historic Jewish Cultural Quarter, where a €17 ticket gets you into several sites, including the Jewish Museum and Portuguese Synagogue; in 2024, sites will include the Hollandsche Schouwburg and the new National Holocaust Museum (both are being renovated).

1 P.M. | EXPLORE SPECIAL STREETS

The streets that radiate from the Prinsengracht form the Jordaan (pronounced your-dan), a district of little houses where workers and servants lived during the Dutch Golden Age (in the 17th century, Amsterdam emerged as a jewel of Europe, thanks to the enormous wealth accrued during the century of global shipping and colonial expansion). Today, the section of the Jordaan bounded by two long commercial avenues — Raadhuisstraat and Leidsestraat — is known as De 9 Straatjes (Nine Streets), and is a stylish shopping district. Don't miss the housewares shop the Frozen Fountain, and pop into galleries Ron Mandos or Annet Gelink for contemporary art, and Galerie Wouter van Leeuwen for photography. Find colorful Belgian fashion at Essentiel Antwerp, reasonably priced clothing and fanciful housewares at Things I Like Things I Love.

2:30 P.M. | LOOK AT REMBRANDT

Amsterdam's three major museums — the Rijksmuseum, Van Gogh Museum and Stedelijk Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art and Design — are on a single square: Museumplein. Although the Rijksmuseum (entry, €22.50) is the national museum, many tourists skip it in favor of the Van Gogh Museum, next door. Devote a single hour here to the city's greatest star, Rembrandt; the Rijksmuseum has 22 of his paintings. See the "Jewish Bride," with thick golden impasto that inspired Vincent van Gogh's use of rich pigments, as well as his monumental group portrait of a civic militia, commonly known as "The Night Watch."

3:30 P.M. | SO MANY BY VAN GOGH

The Van Gogh Museum has the world's largest collection of the Dutch post-Impressionist painter's works. It is also a major research center. One thing its researchers learned, for example, was that the red pigment that van Gogh used had faded over time, leaving the paintings more blue than he'd originally intended. Imagine what his "Bedroom" in Arles would have looked like if the walls were purple and not blue; or how his blossoming fruit trees might have been pink, rather than white. (Make sure you book tickets, €20, in advance online.) Head back out onto Museumplein and restore your energy in the Rijksmuseum Gardens (free) among the flowers, sculptured shrubs and art works.

6:30 P.M. | CARNIVORES, REJOICE

The Dutch eat dinner on the early side, and you'll want to follow their lead to be able to catch a show later. Conveniently just to the south of the Museumplein, you'll find Café Loetje, one of Amsterdam's classic Dutch restaurants, where you can get a cut of beef tenderloin (€24.50 to €38.50) in a sea of buttery brown sauce, along with other Dutch bites like shrimp croquettes (€12) and smoked eel on toast (€18). This is the original location of a popular franchise that now has more than a dozen locations in the Netherlands, and though it is essentially a meat-and-potatoes place, it's quintessential Dutch eating. It is traditional in almost every respect, except one: It now offers a vegetarian "steak" made with a 3D printer.

8 P.M. | CATCH A CONCERT

Young Dutch people are all about techno, and there are plenty of events with pounding beats that last till dawn. For traditionalists, the premier classical venue is the dazzling Royal Concertgebouw, built in 1888; it was considered by experts to be among the top three concert halls in the world for its acoustics. Even if you don't love classical, it can be a thrill to sit in the red velvet seats of the Grote Zaal (Great Hall) and read the names of famous composers painted on the walls, or gaze at its massive pipe organ, as the conductor Klaus Mäkelä leads the exceptional Royal Concertgebouw Orchestra. For rock and pop, head to Paradiso, a former 19th-century church, which became a squat in the 1960s, and has since been repurposed as a concert venue offering different kinds of spiritual experiences.

Sunday

10 A.M. | DISCOVER A DISTRICT

Take a free ferry from behind Central Station to Noord, the northern part of Amsterdam, crossing IJ-harbor (pronounced "eye"). The harbor was the city's lifeblood for four centuries before Central Station was built in the 1880s, and the shipping industry was rerouted to Rotterdam. Get off at NDSM, an abandoned shipyard transformed in the last decade into a lively artistic hub. It is also home to the new Straat Museum (entry, €18.50), a massive warehouse on the wharf with a colorful Anne Frank mural on the side. It has more than 160 large-scale murals by about 150 international street and graffiti artists, including Farid Rueda from Mexico, all painted on site by contemporary artists, making it one of the biggest "legal walls" anywhere in the world.

12:30 P.M. | DRINKS BY THE HARBOR

Just next to the NDSM ferry station, there are a handful of restaurants with terraces that provide scenic views of the harbor. The newest addition is NEXT, which opened in 2022. The bar serves stellar cocktails, like the Doctor Earth, a concoction of mezcal and yellow Chartreuse topped with a twig of seaweed (€15) and artfully plated small dishes, such as gooseberry piri piri salad, and Korean pancakes (€7 to €19), many of them vegetarian and vegan-friendly. From the glass-walled second-floor dining area, you can even watch the digital signs on the ferry station, letting you know how many minutes you have before your boat back to the center will depart.

KEY STOPS

The **Canal Belt** (the Grachtengordel), a central district comprising four canals that form a horseshoe, is the picturesque heart of historic Amsterdam.

The **Rijksmuseum**, the Dutch national museum, contains many of the country's treasures, including works of Rembrandt and Vermeer, and a vast collection of Asian art.

Boom Chicago, an English-language comedy club on the Rozengracht, offers live improv with up-and-coming comedians in a cabaret-style setting.

The **Straat Museum**, in the NDSM district, displays graffiti art and murals painted on site by internationally renowned street artists.

WHERE TO EAT

De Gouden Reael (by Caron) is a French restaurant in a canal house in the quieter Western Islands.

Café Loetje, known for its steaks and fries, offers a variety of classically Dutch dishes.

NEXT, at the NDSM dock, offers great cocktails and small plates for sharing, including vegan-friendly options.

Fluks & Sons, for its sausage-and-ham sandwiches, and **Abu Salie**, for its vegetarian sabich, are two excellent street-food options at the Lindengracht Markt.

WHERE TO STAY

The Dylan is a 41-room boutique hotel in a historic mansion in the Canal Belt. It also houses the Michelin-starred Restaurant Vinkeles. Rooms start from about 570 euros, or about $619.

The **Ambassade Hotel**, also centrally located in the Canal Belt, has hosted many famous visiting literary figures and features a special collection of Dutch art from the postwar avant-garde Cobra movement. Rooms start from 230 euros per night.

Stayokay Hostel Amsterdam Vondelpark, in the center of the city's main park, is a budget option near many major attractions. A private room with two beds starts from around 130 euros, while a bed in a shared room starts from about 52 euros.

For **short-term rentals**, consider something in the walkable Jordaan district, cultural Museumplein, or quiet, residential Oud-West.

Cooking

What to Make Next Week

The National Football League season is here, and in some households that means potential pressure on kitchen quarterbacks. The big question: How do you balance dinner with the inevitable blitz of snacks devoured during those Monday and Thursday night games? The best solution is to go lighter at dinner, which these meals do: the kimchi chicken lettuce wraps and the basil-butter pasta, and the beans and greens alla vodka and eggplant dal. And that roasted broccoli and potato tacos with fried eggs just might be clever enough to elbow its way onto the snack tray.

Visit NYT Cooking for thousands more recipes, advice and inspiration: nytcooking.com

ARMANDO RAFAEL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES. FOOD STYLIST: CYD RAFTUS McDOWELL.

Basil-Butter Pasta

Buttered noodles get a fancy update in this smart recipe from Ali Slagle. It may seem fussy to blanch and process the basil, but it can easily be done ahead of time — and even doubled. Any leftover basil butter can be saved to make sandwiches feel extra special. *KRYSTEN CHAMBROT*

TIME: 40 MINUTES
YIELD: 4 SERVINGS

- Salt
- 3 cups packed basil leaves (about 80 grams, from 2 large bunches)
- 6 tablespoons unsalted butter, sliced, at room temperature
- 1 pound of any pasta, any type

Basil butter will keep, refrigerated, for up to one week, or in the freezer for several months.

1. Bring a large pot of well-salted water to a boil. Place the basil in a heatproof colander. Once the water is boiling, submerge the colander with the basil into the pot and use a spoon to push the leaves into the water. Blanch for 10 seconds, then immediately rinse the leaves under cold water to stop the cooking. Squeeze them dry with your hands. Reserve the boiling water.

2. Transfer the basil to a food processor and pulse until finely chopped. Add the butter and process, scraping the sides of the food processor as needed, until very smooth. Refrigerate until ready to use.

3. Add the pasta to the boiling water and cook until tender. Reserve 1 cup of the pasta cooking water, then drain the pasta. Return the pasta and ¼ cup of the reserved pasta water to the pot, then add the basil butter and toss to coat. (Doesn't it smell incredible?) If the pasta is dry instead of silky and glossy, add more pasta water, 1 tablespoon at a time. Season to taste with salt.

NICO SCHINCO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES. FOOD STYLIST: BARRETT WASHBURNE.

Kimchi Chicken Lettuce Wraps

We're a taco Tuesday household. We're also a bo ssam household. Alexa Weibel's kimchi chicken lettuce wraps is a killer mash-up, and you probably have everything for the recipe already. I had to make it a time or two to dial in the exact heat-sweet ratio for my people, but 10 out of 10 recommend. *KIM SEVERSON*

TIME: 25 MINUTES
YIELD: 4 SERVINGS

- 1½ tightly packed cups store-bought or homemade kimchi (about 10 ounces)
- 2 tablespoons canola or vegetable oil
- 1 pound ground chicken (preferably dark meat)
- Salt and black pepper
- 3 tablespoons hoisin sauce, plus more for serving
- Lettuce leaves (preferably 2 heads bibb lettuce or 1 large head red-leaf lettuce)
- 3 to 4 cups warm cooked short-grain rice

1. Finely chop the kimchi (or pulse in a food processor); transfer about two-thirds to a small serving bowl, reserving the remainder for the chicken.

2. In a large nonstick skillet, heat the oil over medium-high. Add the chicken, season with salt and pepper, and cook, crumbling it occasionally with a spoon, until starting to brown, about 5 minutes. Stir in the hoisin sauce and then the reserved kimchi, and stir occasionally until chicken is glossy and cooked through, about 4 minutes. Season to taste with salt and pepper.

3. Add the chicken mixture, lettuce leaves and rice to separate serving bowls. Assemble lettuce wraps by first adding a spoonful of rice, then chicken mixture and then kimchi; devour swiftly. Serve with more hoisin, if desired, for extra sweetness.

RYAN LIEBE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES. FOOD STYLIST: SIMON ANDREWS.

Beans and Greens Alla Vodka

My pal Eric Kim explains that the reason vodka works so well in pasta sauce is in part because it helps fat disperse more evenly. That makes everything glossy the way only a good emulsion can. Share that fact like a professor when you serve this dish of beans and greens alla vodka, which punches way above its weight. Also, it gets better in the refrigerator and thus solves the school lunch problem. *KIM SEVERSON*

TIME: 20 MINUTES
YIELD: 4 SERVINGS

- 3 tablespoons olive oil
- 1 yellow onion, finely chopped
- 4 garlic cloves, finely chopped
- Kosher salt
- 1 (6-ounce) can tomato paste
- ¼ cup vodka
- ½ teaspoon red-pepper flakes
- 2 (15-ounce) cans white beans (such as cannellini or Great Northern) or chickpeas, drained but not rinsed
- 1 bunch kale, ribs removed, leaves torn or coarsely chopped
- ¼ cup heavy cream
- Grated Parmesan, as needed

1. In a large pot or Dutch oven, heat the olive oil over medium-high. Add the onion and garlic, season with salt, and cook, stirring occasionally, until softened, 3 to 5 minutes. Add the tomato paste, vodka and red-pepper flakes. Cook, stirring, until the tomato paste is a shade darker and starts to stick to the bottom of the pot, 2 to 3 minutes.

2. Add 2 cups water, the beans and the kale, season with salt and bring to a simmer. Reduce heat to maintain a simmer, cover, and cook until the liquid is flavorful and the kale is tender, 7 to 10 minutes.

3. Remove from the heat and stir in the heavy cream. Taste and if it needs more salt, stir in some grated Parmesan. Serve with more Parmesan on top.

JULIA GARTLAND FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES. FOOD STYLIST: MONICA PIERINI.

Roasted Broccoli and Potato Tacos With Fried Eggs

To my mind, vegetable tacos are the perfect combination of fun and nutrition. And this Kay Chun recipe is yet another opportunity to use timesaving frozen broccoli. Just add it a tiny bit early, so it can defrost while the potatoes cook. *KRYSTEN CHAMBROT*

TIME: 45 MINUTES
YIELD: 4 SERVINGS

- 1 pound large broccoli florets (about 8 cups)
- 1 pound fingerling or baby white potatoes, sliced crosswise ¼ inch thick (about 4 cups)
- 1 bunch scallions (8 ounces), cut into 1-inch pieces (about 2 cups)
- 3 large garlic cloves, thinly sliced
- 2 teaspoons smoked paprika
- 10 tablespoons extra-virgin olive oil
- Kosher salt and black pepper
- 8 (6-inch) corn tortillas
- 8 large eggs
- 2 avocados, cut into wedges
- Salsa, sour cream, cilantro sprigs and lime wedges, for serving

1. Heat oven to 450 degrees. On a large rimmed baking sheet, combine broccoli, potatoes, scallions and garlic with the paprika and 6 tablespoons oil. Season with salt and pepper, toss to coat, then spread in an even layer. Roast, undisturbed, until tender and charred in spots, 30 minutes.

2. Stack tortillas and wrap tightly in aluminum foil. Five minutes before the vegetables are done, transfer foil-wrapped tortillas to the oven to warm up.

3. Just before serving, heat 2 tablespoons oil over medium heat in a 12-inch nonstick or cast-iron skillet. Crack in 4 eggs and fry until whites are set and yolks are still runny, about 5 minutes. Transfer to a large plate. Repeat with remaining oil and eggs.

4. Divide vegetable filling and avocado among the tortillas and top each with an egg. Spoon over some salsa and sour cream and garnish with cilantro sprigs. Fold over tortillas to form tacos or enjoy with forks and knives. Serve with lime wedges.

BRYAN GARDNER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES. FOOD STYLIST: BARRETT WASHBURNE.

Eggplant Dal

It's still eggplant season, so make the most of it with this dal from Kay Chun, which comes together in a largely hands-off 40 minutes. It's gently spiced and comfortingly creamy, but if you like your flavors big and bold, increase the chile and spices to taste and finish with a squeeze of citrus. *KRYSTEN CHAMBROT*

TIME: 40 MINUTES
YIELD: 4 SERVINGS

- ¼ cup neutral oil, such as safflower or canola
- 1 cup finely chopped yellow onion
- 1 large eggplant (about 1 pound), peeled and cut into ½-inch cubes (about 4 cups)
- Salt and black pepper
- 2 tablespoons ghee
- 1 tablespoon minced garlic
- 1 tablespoon minced fresh ginger
- 1 red or green serrano chile, finely chopped
- 2 teaspoons cumin seeds
- 1 teaspoon ground coriander
- 1 medium tomato, cut into ¼-inch pieces
- 1 cup red lentils, rinsed
- Chopped cilantro and basmati rice or naan, for serving

1. In a large Dutch oven, heat oil over medium. Add onion and eggplant, and season with salt and pepper. Cook, stirring occasionally, until eggplant is softened and starting to break down, about 8 minutes. Add 2 tablespoons water and stir up the browned bits on the bottom of the pot. Cook until all of the water is absorbed, then transfer eggplant mixture to a bowl.

2. Melt ghee in the pot over medium heat. Add garlic, ginger, chile, cumin seeds and coriander, and stir constantly until fragrant (be careful not to burn), about 30 seconds. Add tomato and cook, stirring occasionally, until completely broken down and lightly caramelized, about 8 minutes. Stir in eggplant mixture.

3. Add lentils and 3 cups water to the pot, and season with salt and pepper. Bring to a boil over high heat, then cover, reduce heat to medium-low and simmer until lentils are tender and mixture is thickened, about 15 minutes. Season with salt and pepper.

4. Divide dal among bowls and garnish with cilantro. Serve with rice or naan.*